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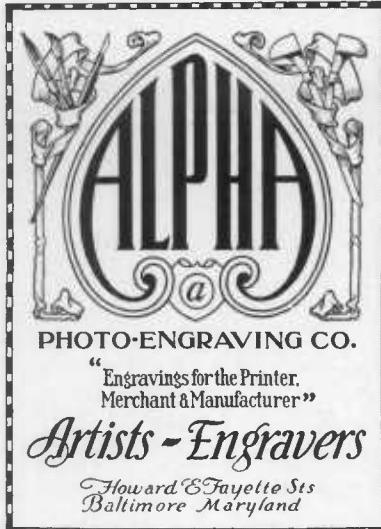
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI

SEPTEMBER, 1951

Number 3

MARYLAND AS A SOURCE OF FOOD SUPPLIES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By HAROLD T. PINKETT

“THE food-supply service of a nation at war is an inseparable part of the warfare, and the food itself is a physical weapon.” This truism uttered by Claude R. Wickard, United States Secretary of Agriculture, in describing the importance of America’s food contribution during World War II applies with equal force to the importance of food in the struggle for American independence. Many popular accounts of this struggle mention the food problem only incidentally, as for example in describing the well known suffering of the Continental Army at Valley Forge. However, records of the deliberations and enactments of the Continental Congress and state legislative bodies, the correspondence of government executives, and the writings of military leaders show that the problem of food throughout the Revolu-

tion was hardly less significant than the more familiar harassing problems of munitions and men. They reveal that the fortunes of war sometimes were greatly affected by such unspectacular activities as the procurement and distribution of flour, pork, bacon, salt, and other foodstuffs. In turn the study of these activities throws light upon the causes of a great phenomenon of the Revolution—an almost starving army in a country of abundant food resources. These general tendencies were well exemplified by the food supply situation in Maryland during the Revolutionary period.

Throughout the American Revolution Maryland was perhaps the most favorably situated area as a source of food supplies for American and allied military forces and civilians of certain sections. With the exception of minor raids along its water courses, the State was comparatively free from enemy invasion and could continue unmolested its production of wheat, corn, vegetables, and livestock. This production was considerable, despite a predominant interest in the cultivation of tobacco. On the eve of the Revolution Maryland's wheat fields yielded from twenty-five to forty bushels per acre and those of Indian corn seldom less than fifty bushels, sometimes as much as eighty. Vegetables were said to have thrived "in greatest luxuriance."¹ Cattle and hogs could be found in most sections foraging in the forest.² Moreover, located between the northern and southern theaters of war, Maryland could more easily make available its abundant food resources to both theaters.

Continental officials early in the war were aware of the potentialities of Maryland as a source of food supplies. On December 26, 1776, the Continental Congress voted to give James Trumbull, Commissary General, authority to import at Continental expense from Maryland and other southern States such quantities of flour and other provisions as he might consider necessary for the support of the army.³ However, prior to 1778 Maryland did not provide a major portion of the food supplies of the Continental army. Since New England was the scene of early military opera-

¹ Anonymous, *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), I, 262.

² James W. Thompson, *A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural History Series No. 5, 1942), pp. 44-45.

³ Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1853), 5th Series, III, 1611.

tions in the Revolution, it together with the middle states became the first important source for the army's food supplies. As these operations shifted largely to New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey during 1776 and 1777, the agricultural activities of these states were interrupted considerably and some temporary food shortages occurred. The severe suffering of the Continental army at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778 was due perhaps more to an inefficient commissary organization, inadequate transportation facilities, and depreciated currency than to a food shortage in agricultural sections near the camp. Nevertheless, the plight of the army aroused great concern in all the states and in Maryland led to efforts of the state government to supplement the food procurement activities of Continental commissary agents. Accordingly, the executive Council of Maryland⁴ in January 1778 ordered that purchasers be appointed to procure in Somerset County cattle suitable for slaughter for the use of the Continental army. These purchasers were authorized to obtain the cattle by contract if the owners were willing to sell them for a "just price." But, if the owners refused, the purchasers were empowered to seize the cattle, leaving a sufficient quantity for the subsistence of the owners and their families and paying the value at the rate as near as could be estimated of one shilling per pound for good beef and nine pence for that of any inferior grade.⁵ Authority for this method of procurement was extended to other counties by an act of the Maryland Assembly in March, 1778. This act also authorized the governor, at certain rates, to hire or impress carriages, teams, drivers, boats, and laborers to transport cattle, beef, pork, and bacon for the use of the army. The measure apparently was quite successful in aiding the procurement of beef, since by the end of July, 1778, such an abundant supply had been obtained that purchases of it by state agents were temporarily halted.⁶

Meanwhile the grain fields of Maryland were looming larger in efforts to feed the army. By 1778 more and more of the products of these fields were being delivered to the principal army magazine in Maryland situated at the head of navigation

⁴ The Council was the principal State executive agency and worked closely with the Governor in furnishing supplies and military forces during the Revolution.

⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 456-457.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXI, 170.

on the Elk River.⁷ According to the Continental commissary at this magazine, by March 10, 1778, 5,000 bushels of wheat and 5,000 of corn had been delivered. Contracts had been made for 36,000 bushels of wheat and 10,000 of corn and other supplies.⁸ Despite rising prices and profiteering, Army purchasers in the State managed to secure about 10,000 barrels of flour in the spring of 1779.⁹

The importance of Maryland wheat in army plans and operations was clearly revealed during the fall and winter of 1779-1780. On October 4, Washington in a letter to John Jay, President of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, stated:

It would be well of the Marine Committee [of the Congress] to be directed to turn their attention to the transportation of flour from the Delaware and Chesapeake by water. Should we obtain command of the sea, vessels might, without the least danger be introduced within the Hook, thence to Amboy, from whence their cargoes might easily be conveyed in boats up Newark Bay. Or should some of them run round into the Sound, it would be equally, nay, more convenient. Should we operate to the eastward, measures of this kind will be indispensably necessary, as the length and difficulty of land carriage will render the support of any considerable body of men almost impossible. The wheat of Maryland being in more forwardness of grinding than any other, I could wish that Governor Johnson may be requested to push the purchases within that State.¹⁰

In accordance with this request, Jay urged Governor Johnson to help the army obtain necessary food supplies. Accordingly, upon the recommendation of the Governor, the Assembly in its November Session of 1779 passed "an Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the army." This law provided for the appointment in each county of commissioners for the collection of wheat, flour, rye, and corn. They were empowered to make the most diligent search for these supplies, and under certain restrictions to seize them wherever found, upon giving the owners certificates, showing the time, quantity, and price of the commodities seized. They were required, however, to leave the

⁷ This supply depot at Head of Elk, now Elkton, was at the northeastern extremity of navigation upon the Chesapeake Bay. It was the most convenient point, accessible by water from which provisions could be sent from Maryland to Philadelphia and New Jersey.

⁸ Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXIII (Baltimore, 1905), p. 47.

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 366, 429.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXI, 547.

owner a sufficient supply for the use of his family for four months.¹¹

This action by Maryland came at a critical period in the army supply service. On December 8, 1779, Ephraim Blaine, then Deputy Commissary General of the Continental army, complained:

The depreciated State of our Currency, the Spirit of Monopoly which so generally prevails with mankind, and the temper of the Farmers to hold back from Sale such produce as they have to spare, is very alarming and makes me dread a Dissolution of the Army for want of Bread.¹²

Washington, equally perturbed, said the army food supply situation was "beyond description alarming." He informed the newly elected governor, Thomas Sim Lee, that the army magazines were empty and that, even if the army were put on one-third the daily ration of bread, the supply would be exhausted in three days.¹³ Governor Lee in a proclamation of December 29, 1779, made a stirring appeal to the citizens of his State to aid in relieving the grave situation of the army by cooperating with the supply-purchasing commissioners.¹⁴

At this juncture of the Revolution the Continental Congress, being almost without money or credit, threw the burden of feeding the Continental Army on the States by making requisitions to them for specific supplies. Louis C. Hatch, an authority on the administration of the Revolutionary army, seems to have been unduly harsh in characterizing this new supply system as "an utter failure."¹⁵ The system was inefficient and expensive in many respects. Under it the States frequently obtained their quotas by taxes in kind and supplies were furnished irregularly. Nevertheless, under this requisition system Maryland and other States furnished considerable quantities of food which undoubtedly helped to prevent the threatened dissolution of the army. Moreover, the new system had the advantage of eliminating the competitive bidding for supplies between Continental and State food purchasers.

Thus on December 11, 1779, Maryland had been requested to

¹¹ *Laws of Maryland*, Chapter 32, November Session, 1779.

¹² *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 381. Letter of Blaine to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, December 8, 1779.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁵ *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1904), p. 104.

furnish 15,000 barrels of flour. Shortly thereafter an additional requisition was made for 5,000 barrels of flour and 500 of Indian corn for delivery before April 1, 1780.¹⁶ Governor Lee and the Council strove earnestly to comply with these requisitions. In January, 1780, Oliver Ellsworth believed that Maryland was "making every exertion to supply the army with bread."¹⁷ On February 17, however, the Council expressed concern over the fact that not more than 8,000 barrels of flour had been obtained under the procurement law of 1779.¹⁸ By the end of April at least 1,069 additional barrels had been obtained and transported to the army from the Head of Elk.¹⁹ It appears, therefore, that Maryland furnished only about half of the supplies requested in the Continental requisitions mentioned above.

More legislation for the relief of the army was enacted during the summer of 1780. In response to resolutions of Congress, and letters from General Washington and the Committee of Cooperation of the Continental Congress relative to the need of more money, men and supplies from the State, the General Assembly passed among other measures "an Act to procure a Supply of Salt Meat for the use of the Army" and "an Act to procure an extra Supply of Provisions of the Bread Kind." Agents appointed in the several counties to enforce these laws were directed to inform citizens that the power of seizure would be exercised, unless they readily furnished the supplies needed so badly by the army.²⁰ By November, 1780, this legislation had enabled the procurement of 12,212 bushels of wheat, 1,094 barrels of flour, 20,976 pounds of bacon, and smaller quantities of other food-stuffs. These quantities did not include certain commodities provided by Somerset, Queen Anne's, Caroline, and Washington counties.²¹ Although this aid was eagerly received by the army, it was not enough to complete the quota of food supplies expected from the State by Congress. The Council was especially disturbed by the failure of State agents to obtain sufficient flour supplies.²² Yet, these supplies were considerable. The commis-

¹⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937), XVI, 144.

¹⁷ E. C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), V, 9. Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumball, January 4, 1780.

¹⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 90.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 475.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 216.

²¹ Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 49, footnote.

²² *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 276.

sary at the Head of Elk was able to report that during the year of 1780 more than 16,000 barrels of flour and about 1,000 barrels of bread had been delivered at his depot "for the use of the United States."²³

Meanwhile the fisheries of Maryland were being used to some extent to help provide provisions for the army. In February, 1778, General Horatio Gates, then chairman of the Continental Board of War, was informed by the State Council that several persons who had fisheries on the Potomac River would willingly sell considerable quantities of large shad, possibly from 2,000 to 5,000 barrels.²⁴ Later several hundred barrels of shad and herring were shipped from Charlestown and Baltimore to the Head of Elk. A deterrent to greater use of fish seems to have been the acute shortage of salt for preservative purposes. Considerable quantities of fish were reported as spoiled on arrival at the Head of Elk.²⁵

While Maryland was furnishing a great portion of the food supplies of the Continental Army, it was also providing considerable quantities of food to French forces brought into the Revolutionary cause by the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. Even before the arrival of the French fleet, the Assembly relaxed the State embargo by allowing permits to be granted for cargoes of wheat, flour and other provisions to be carried to the West Indies for its supply.²⁶ During the period from May 1, 1779, to December 16, 1779, the French purchasing agent in Baltimore shipped for the use of French forces in the West Indies and Virginia 3,158 barrels of flour, 214 of bread and 11 of bran, and 43 kegs of biscuits. The agent also received permission to ship cargoes of potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables.²⁷ This action by Maryland was warmly characterized by Conrad Alexander Gerard, French minister to the United States, as "une nouvelle preuve que cet Etat donne de son attachment à l'alliance et de son zéle pour tout ce qui peut intéresser la cause commune."²⁸

The auspicious relations occasioned by this aid to the French were interrupted at the close of 1779 as Maryland officials strove

²³ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 77.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, 506.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 525.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXI, 472-473.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 436; XXI, 554-556.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXI, 500-501. The Minister's comment may be translated, "New proof of the State's attachment to the alliance and of its zeal for all that relates to the common cause."

to furnish more supplies to the Continental army. When the Assembly learned that persons acting or pretending to act for the principal French agent had made purchases of wheat and flour in the State beyond the amount authorized, it voted that such surplus purchases should be deemed as having been made for the United States. Consequently, state officials were ordered to seize all wheat and flour purchased by the French agent, pending assurances from the Continental Congress or General Washington that the American army had adequate provisions. Restoration was to be made of the amount of wheat and flour which the agents were authorized to buy.²⁹

These strong measures brought an indignant protest from the newly appointed French minister, Chevalier de la Luzerne, who complained to Congress, that if the measures were enforced, it would be impossible to supply the French fleet. However, reports convinced Governor Lee and his Council that the French agent had greatly exceeded the amount of flour officially allowed for his purchase. They insisted, therefore, that the seizures must continue until the American army was fully supplied. The Council declared: "It is better the Marine of France should submit to a temporary Disappointment than that we should hazard the Disbanding of the Army of the United States by procrastinating the Supplies."³⁰ Congress settled this controversy by requesting Maryland to give the French agent sufficient flour to allow his purchases to total 15,00 barrels.³¹ This request was granted with the proviso that the flour necessary to complete the French contract should be deducted from the Continental requisitions to the State. The wheat already seized from the French agent or other persons in his employ was restored upon the authorization of the Council in May, 1780. To prevent further abuses, flour for the French fleet was thereafter procured by Continental or State agents. At the request of Congress during the summer of 1780, 3,000 extra barrels of flour were given clearance from Maryland ports for the French fleet in the West Indies.³² During this time also an agent of Robert Morris was given permission to ship flour

²⁹ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 66-68.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 67. Letter of the Council to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, January 24, 1780.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 455.

³² *Ibid.*, XLIII, 175.

from Baltimore for the Spanish fleet which also had been sent to the West Indies.³³

The breach with the French was apparently well healed by 1781. State authorities seemed to bend every effort to assure the delivery of ample provisions to the Marquis de Lafayette and his forces who arrived at the Head of Elk in March, 1781. The Council directed that "five or six Barrels of the best fine white Biscuit should be immediately baked or procured for the use of the Marquis and his Family."³⁴ Expressing its deep interest in the proposed campaign of Lafayette against General Arnold in Virginia, the Council declared:

We have ordered all the Vessels at Baltimore and in this Port [i. e. Annapolis] to be impressed and sent to the Head of Elk to transport the Detachment under your Command, and we have directed six hundred Barrels of Bread to be forwarded in them. This State will most chearfully make every Exertion to give Force and Efficacy to the present important Expedition by every Measure in our Power.³⁵

This interest in the welfare of French forces seems to have continued throughout the war. For example, in August, 1781, the Council ordered the purchase or seizure of 5,000 head of cattle to provide meat for 7,000 French troops en route to Virginia to fight against Cornwallis.³⁶

The food resources of Maryland were also important in helping to alleviate civilian food shortages in various states and the West Indies and in obtaining in return from these regions supplies which the State lacked. Exportation of food supplies for these purposes required the removal of specific embargo restrictions which the State enforced during the Revolution to combat high prices and the scarcity of grain and other foodstuffs. Thus in 1776 the State embargo was lifted temporarily to permit the sending to the West Indies of several vessels loaded with flour, wheat, corn, and other commodities for return cargoes of military supplies.³⁷

In compliance with a resolution of Congress of September 2, 1778, that properly accredited vessels should be allowed to carry wheat for the needy New England States, the State Council gave

³³ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 256.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XLV, 335.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XLV, 337. Letter of the Council to Lafayette, March 3, 1781.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XLV, 590.

³⁷ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 272.

several vessels clearance during succeeding months.³⁸ When in 1779 Congress again requested that permission be given to purchase food supplies in the State for export to New England, the Council again permitted vessels to load flour for ports in that region.³⁹

Moreover, the embargo laws were set aside in October, 1779, to permit the shipment of flour to Virginia. An agent at Baltimore was appointed by Virginia to secure bread and flour. In the period from October 21, 1779, to December 20, 1779, this official was reported to have shipped 256 barrels of flour for the Virginia Board of War.⁴⁰ Exports to Virginia were interrupted, however, during the winter of 1779-1780 when the acute food shortage of the army induced the seizure of wheat and flour purchased for non-Continental use. When Governor Jefferson of Virginia complained that this action deprived State troops of needed provisions, the Maryland Council replied that the needs of the Continental army demanded first consideration.⁴¹ However, on November 8, 1780, the Council adopted a resolution requesting that some 845 bushels of wheat and 375 barrels of flour seized from Virginia's purchasing agent be credited by the Commissary General to Virginia on its specific supplies required by Congress and that the same be charged to Maryland.⁴²

A food shortage in the Bermuda Islands also caused Maryland officials to make an exception to the observance of the embargo on foodstuffs. Having been informed of the distress in the Islands and assured that relief supplies would be faithfully distributed, Congress on May 18, 1779, requested Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina each to allow the exportation of 1,000 bushels of corn for the relief of the Bermudians. Accordingly, on December 7, 1779, the Council gave permission for the exportation of 1,010 bushels of Indian corn for this relief purpose. The vessel carrying this shipment brought to Baltimore a return cargo of 1,000 bushels of salt. Additional shipments of corn for Bermuda consisting of 300 bushels each were also given clearance on May 19 and June 17, 1780.⁴³

³⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 201 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XXI, 314, 361-362, 368.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 435.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 95.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XLIII, 353.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 32, 177, 197-198, 376.

The State continued strenuously to provide food supplies for the army during 1781. Although its efforts in this connection fell short of the requisitions by Congress, they were creditable when viewed in the light of several impeding factors to be discussed later in this paper. Several hundred barrels of flour, pork, and beef were forwarded from magazines at the Head of Elk, Georgetown, and Frederick. State food purchasing agents were frequently authorized to use seizure methods where owners were reluctant to sell food supplies or to resort to impressment of necessary transportation facilities. On the eve of the battle of Yorktown the Council assured General Washington: "Nothing within the Compass of our Power shall be omitted to obtain and hasten to your Excellancy Supplies of every Kind." When that historic battle occurred, the State was daily forwarding flour and cattle for the Continental forces.⁴⁴ Moreover, after the surrender of Cornwallis, Maryland officials were called upon to station some 2,000 British prisoners of war at Frederick and to provide them with food.⁴⁵ During 1782 they were also expected to provide food for Continental and French forces passing through the State en route from the southern campaign. In 1783 the Council gave permission for the export of Indian corn and flour for the use of Maryland prisoners held in New York.⁴⁶

Food production and distribution during the American Revolution were constantly hampered by several factors. In this connection a leading factor was the depreciation of the State and Continental currencies as a result of excessive issuances of paper money. By 1779 serious difficulties were being encountered in the use of paper currency for the purchase of provisions for the army.⁴⁷ Some farmers in Maryland and other States were reluctant to part with their commodities in exchange for bills of credit but eagerly sold the commodities for specie, which the French and British could more easily supply than the American authorities. Noticing that prices in paper currency rose overnight, these farmers naturally had a tendency to hoard their products. By 1780 Maryland commissaries for food purchases were constantly emphasizing the necessity for cash to enable them

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XLV, 637, 648.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XLV, 660, 663, 665.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 374, 381.

⁴⁷ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York, 1941), II, 586-589.

to procure sufficient provisions. The commissary for Queen Anne's County reported to Governor Lee that his commission to make purchases for the Army without cash was "like a body without a Soul incapable of motion." Much wheat could be obtained, he declared, but only for cash. The people's wants were not to be supplied by certificates. Similarly, the commissary in Montgomery County stated that he was unable to make large purchases of provisions due to the unwillingness of the people to accept the depreciated currency. He hoped that the State Assembly would "fall on some means to give it a Circulation."⁴⁸

Moreover, the availability of food supplies was seriously affected by two practices common in war time—the ancient practices of forestalling and engrossing. Interest in procuring army provisions on reasonable terms prompted the Maryland Council of Safety as early as January, 1777, to ask county committees of observation and other persons to send the names of those persons engaging in "the odious Practice of forestalling and Ingrossing" so that they could be prosecuted under State laws.⁴⁹ On February 18, 1778, the Council complained to General Gates of the Continental Board of War that the inadequacy of the State's pork supply was due in part to engrossing by "some avaricious People."⁵⁰ Complaints continued despite the passage by the Assembly of more strict measures against forestalling and engrossing in November, 1779. The Council in ordering the seizure of flour, allegedly bought for the French forces in 1780, was influenced largely by the fear that much of this flour had been purchased for illegal speculative purposes.

Competitive bidding was another factor which increased the difficulties of food procurement agents. Early in the Revolution difficulty was encountered in counties where two or more agents were making food purchases.⁵¹ Moreover, prior to 1780 there was competitive bidding for food supplies between State and Continental commissaries. Meanwhile this competition was increased after 1778 by the purchasing activities of real or pretended agents

⁴⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 32, 147.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 50. Forestalling meant the intercepting and purchasing of commodities from farmers who would normally carry them to marketing centers. Engrossing was the attempt to monopolize the supply of marketable products. Both of these practices tended to help create shortages of food supplies and enable the raising of prices thereon to abnormally high levels.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XVI, 505.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XII, 275.

for the French fleet and army and agents for the Massachusetts and Virginia Boards of War.

In Maryland as in the other States, the scarcity of salt was a principal factor in impeding the procurement of an adequate supply of beef and pork. Local food purchasing agents often reported finding livestock in abundance, but were compelled to limit their purchase to the number that could be slaughtered and preserved with salt. The following complaint of a purchasing agent of Kent County was typical: "I could have purchased by this time the 100 barrels of beef and as many of Pork had the salt been ready."⁵² Maryland and other states attempted to encourage the establishment of salt works, foster importation, prevent profiteering, and distribute available supplies of salt. Nevertheless, this important commodity remained scarce throughout the Revolutionary War.⁵³

The meat supply service was also impeded by misunderstandings about or lack of adequate facilities for slaughtering cattle. Continental procurement agents felt that the States should handle the slaughtering of cattle rather than the mere driving or transporting of them to supply depots. Moreover, it was not clear as to whether the expenses of slaughtering should be borne by Congress or the States. Thus the State commissary at Head of Elk complained as late as September, 1781, that he had 200 head of cattle which a Continental commissary refused to receive on the grounds that his orders were to "receive Beef Slaughtered and Barreled up, and not Cattle." On the other hand, the Continental Commissary General pointed out that it was impossible for him to attend to slaughtering in the various localities where cattle were available, to say nothing of the fact that he had "not one shilling of money to defray the expense."⁵⁴

Unfavorable weather conditions and insects sometimes helped to decrease food supplies. The wheat crop of 1778 in Maryland and other southern states was seriously damaged by flies.⁵⁵ In August, 1780, the commissary at Port Tobacco advised Governor Lee to have all the wheat purchased in this vicinity removed to another locality since there was a risk of its becoming spoiled in Port Tobacco mills which had "neither screens or cooling Floors."

⁵² *Ibid.*, 499. Letter of Thomas Smyth to the Council, December 1, 1776.

⁵³ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 584-585.

⁵⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 509, 525.

⁵⁵ Burnett, *op. cit.*, III, 541. Jay to Lowndes, December 18, 1778.

The State commissary at Head of Elk in September, 1781, also warned of the menace of the fly to wheat collected in his district. The possibilities of insect damage to wheat were increased sometimes by delays in milling operations due to inadequate water power. As a result of drought or freezing conditions the water in some mill streams was sufficient to turn the wheels of mills only a few months during the year.⁵⁶ Even if this delay did not increase the danger of insect damage to the wheat, it nevertheless, impeded the manufacture of flour for military and civilian needs. Then, too, crops might be directly affected adversely by abnormal weather conditions. Such was the case in the spring of 1779 when severe frost damaged a great part of the wheat crop of Maryland.⁵⁷

The food supply service was also affected adversely in some instances by inadequate transportation facilities. Roads suitable for effective hauling were almost non-existent in many parts of Maryland. Much food production occurred in isolated communities engaged in an economy largely self-sufficient.⁵⁸ Moreover, there was a critical shortage of horses and wagons to meet the needs of increased internal commerce brought by the Revolution. A committee of Congress while inspecting army conditions at Valley Forge in February, 1778, made the following observation in a letter to Governor Johnson:

Some Brigades have not tasted Flesh in four days. . . . The Commissaries inform us that they have not only met great Difficulties in purchasing Provisions in your State but that they cannot even transport what they have purchased for the want of Waggons and the like.⁵⁹

This shortage was also evident from the numerous requests of local food purchasing agents to the Council for authority to impress wagons for the transportation of provisions. Closely related to this problem was the occasional shortage of forage which made it difficult to feed horses used in transporting food supplies. In this connection Donaldson Yeates, Deputy Quarter Master for Maryland and Delaware, reported to Governor Lee in December, 1780, that no forage was available at Head of Elk or Baltimore where there was the greatest necessity of supplying the horses which were being used in the transportation of provisions for the

⁵⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 53; XLVII, 494, 509.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, XXI, 373, 520.

⁵⁸ Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

⁵⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 503; Letter of Francis Dana and Others of a Committee of Congress to Governor Johnson, February 16, 1778.

Northern and Southern armies.⁶⁰ Still another delay in the food supply service resulted in some instances from the diversion of available vessels to the service of carrying troops and ordnance stores. Such a situation existed on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in September, 1781, when there were reported to be no vessels available to transport to suitable mills the large quantities of wheat which had been collected by local commissaries.⁶¹

Moreover, food production and supply in the State were reduced or interrupted to some extent by certain labor conditions. To begin with, a considerable number of Negro slaves, the principal agricultural laborers of the State, escaped or were seized by the British and thereby caused an interruption of agricultural activity in some communities. Furthermore, inflation and the limited financial resources of the State and central government sometimes tended to prevent the securing of necessary laborers in certain critical activities. Thus, for example, in March, 1780, flour shipments were being held up at Head of Elk due to a shortage of barrels resulting from the refusal of coopers to work for paper certificates.⁶² Moreover, shortages of barrels and casks for food supplies tended to arise during the latter part of summer when coopers left their shops to harvest crops.⁶³

Finally, internal disturbances provoked by pro-British sympathizers may have impeded to some extent the food supply service of the State. For example, a grist mill in Kent County was alleged to have been destroyed in June, 1780, by Tories flushed with the success of recent British military operations and desirous of reducing still further the precarious food supply of the Continental army. At about the same time Governor Lee and the Council considered it necessary to send a State vessel to Hooper's Strait for the purpose of subduing and capturing the British or disaffected inhabitants of the State who were interfering with trade and seizing the property of loyal citizens in that vicinity.⁶⁴

One of the most prominent authorities on the history of Maryland declared that the granaries of the State fed the American Revolutionary army in a larger degree than those of any other State.⁶⁵ This assertion has not been proved statistically in terms of the quantity of foodstuffs provided for the army. The lack

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XLV, 202.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 503.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XLIII, 453.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 470.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 242, 528-529.

⁶⁵ Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 351.

of systematic recording of the quantities of such supplies furnished during the entire Revolutionary period probably precludes such statistical proof.⁶⁶ However, the testimony of responsible Continental officials amply reveals the considerable exertions of the State in providing necessary food supplies. In appreciation of these exertions during the winter of 1779-1780 the Commissary General of Purchases offered to Governor Lee his thanks and the warm acknowledgments of General Washington and declared that it was largely due to the efforts of Maryland that he was able to feed the army with bread through the winter.⁶⁷ Robert Morris in August, 1781, while urging Maryland authorities to provide certain supplies then over due, admitted that he was aware that they had "upon all occasions executed the demands of Congress with a decision and vigor" which did them honor.⁶⁸ The Committee of Cooperation of the Continental Congress was confident in June, 1780, that Maryland would do its utmost to comply with recent Continental requisitions because of the State's reputation for "indefatigable attention . . . to the welfare of the United States."⁶⁹ At the same time General Washington expressed thanks to the General Assembly for its "ready attention to and compliance with the several requisitions" of provisions which he had recently made.⁷⁰ He gave eloquent testimony of the exertions of the State on the eve of the battle of Yorktown, at which time he declared: "The supplies granted by the State are so liberal, that they remove every apprehension of want."⁷¹ These statements and the record of the supplies furnished in spite of many unfavorable circumstances would seem to indicate that Maryland's food contribution to the Revolution was certainly considerable and highly creditable. They also seem to show that this contribution helped greatly to bolster the admittedly weak foundation on which the Revolutionary food supply system rested.

⁶⁶ County Commissaries of food purchases frequently failed to submit to the proper authorities reports on provisions which they were supplying directly to Continental Commissaries. See *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 561.

⁶⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 463, 506.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 453.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 518.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 525.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 521. Letter of Washington to Governor Lee, October 12, 1781

SOTTERLEY, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

By MARIAN MCKENNA

FROM Annapolis where the Severn empties into the Chesapeake down to the mouth of the Potomac, the roads of Southern Maryland lead to many fine mansions, for the most part opulent dwellings built on the shores of rivers where they could easily be reached by boat at a time when the land approaches were little more than tracks through the wilderness.

Here, in this country, instead of palaces, tombs or cathedrals, the real historical monuments are the fine old houses that tell the history of the American people. They keep a personal and appealing record of the way people lived when the nation was young.¹

One of these plantations, known today as "Sotterley," has had a long and interesting history. Situated on the Patuxent River in northern St. Mary's County, its story is almost as old as that of Maryland itself. St. Mary's is in the heart of the region where the manorial system in colonial America flourished. In 1650 4,000 acres bordering on the western shore of the Patuxent River, just opposite St. Leonard's Creek, were granted to Captain Thomas Cornwallis. This manor, "together with all the Royalties and Privileges . . . most usually belonging to Mannors [sic] in England . . ." was held "in Free and Common Soccage" and extended from St. Thomas' Creek on the north to Cuckold's Creek on the south.² Cornwallis owned considerable land in other parts of the county and built Cross Manor, on the lower part of the peninsula, where he resided until he returned to England.

Of the original grant, which Cornwallis called Resurrection Manor, about 1,000 acres are included in the present Sotterley.³

¹ Richard Pratt, *A Treasure of Early American Homes* (New York, 1949), p. 3.

² Patents, Liber A, B & H, 151, Land Office, Annapolis.

³ Adjoining Resurrection but farther inland to the west and southwest, with no river frontage, was Fenwick Manor, a parcel of 2,000 acres granted in the same

The estate was purchased in 1910 by the late Herbert L. Satterlee and is now the property of his daughter, Mrs. Mabel Satterlee Ingalls. The unusual character of the house, its gradual growth through more than a century, and the beauty of its interior wood-carving have long been celebrated. The full story of Sotterley has so far only been sketched.

In 1670, when the sale of land in fee simple was lawful, Cornwallis transferred Resurrection Manor to John Bateman.⁴ Four years later, Mary Bateman, his daughter " . . . sold over to Richard Perry all the Mannor . . . Called the Resurrecion [sic] . . ." for 100£, and " . . . for 420£ Henry Scarborough, her husband, relinquished all his claims to Perry also."⁵ In 1684 Perry turned over " . . . all the Mannor of the Resurrection" to Edmund and George Plowden of Lagham, in Southampton, including "all the out-buildings, tobacco houses, barns, and negroes on said property for 500£."⁶

The Plowden line in English history had been seated in Shropshire from a period anterior to any known records. George Plowden, who thus acquired the Manor, was the son of Sir Edmund Plowden, Earl of Albion. The property remained in Plowden hands until 1710 when George Plowden sold about 1000 acres to James Bowles, from whom the land derived the name " Bowles' Preservation."⁷ Although clearly transcribed in the early records, modern writers have recorded it as " Bowles' Separation."

Thus, in less than a century, a substantial part of the original manor had passed through the hands of five owners. This seems rather unusual, because as the land system was further democratized, very few manors held together until the influx of slaves made it possible to cultivate large plantations profitably; the larger number disintegrated almost immediately, giving way to smaller holdings and individual owners.

James Bowles, a son of Tobias Bowles, of London, was a Freeman of considerable wealth and was a member of the Council of

year to Cuthbert Fenwick, attorney to Cornwallis and prominent in public affairs. Parts of the original manor remained in the possession of the Fenwick family for many generations. *Ibid.*, 151-152.

⁴ Chancery Court Proceedings, Liber No. 1, 20, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Liber No. 2, 60-61.

⁶ Provincial Court Deeds, Liber WRC, No. 1, 1676-1699, 350-353, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁷ Rent Rolls for St. Mary's County (1716), p. 73, Land Office, Annapolis.

Maryland. He seems to have intended to make the Manor a permanent home for his wife and children. At the very outset, he demanded a resurvey of all his property since he "conceived there might be some surplus land within Ye bounds of this part. . . ." ⁸ As he suspected, he possessed additional acreage, which was patented to him on January 18, 1716/7.⁹ The survey records give a detailed description of the geographic boundaries of the property which conforms accurately with the Sotterley of the later 19th century.

Bowles' first wife was Jane Lowe, by whom he had one daughter, Jane Lowe Bowles. Shortly after the birth of her daughter Mrs. Bowles died. Bowles soon took another wife, Rebecca Addison.¹⁰ Two daughters, Eleanor and Mary, were born of this marriage.

During the 1720's Bowles added to his holdings, bringing the tract to more than 1,000 acres. Sometime after 1717 he began the construction of a dwelling house in which he and his family were living at the time of his death in 1727. When James Bowles decided upon the site for his new home, he chose well. The house is perched upon an elevation sloping gently to a bluff along the shore of the Patuxent, commanding an excellent prospect of the river, the shore of Calvert County beyond, and the surrounding countryside. Sotterley gates are a short two miles off the old Three Notch Road, still the main artery of the peninsula which once served as a direct route from Point Lookout to Annapolis. Branching from it are many shorter roads to steamboat landings and estates overlooking the Patuxent. St. Mary's City, capital of the colony till 1692, is just ten miles away.

No formal scheme of architecture is apparent in Sotterley today. Parts of the interior decoration represent certain well known periods in colonial architecture. The exterior is more picturesque than impressive. It seems to represent growth rather than a plan and to have reached its present form through various alterations. Each successive owner made changes and additions according to individual tastes and needs. The owners, of whom more later, were Bowles to 1727, the Plater family to 1822, Colonel Somerville in 1822, Thomas Barber to 1826, the Briscoe family to 1905,

⁸ Surveys, Liber RY, No. 1, 326-327, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁹ Surveys, Liber FF, No. 7, 85-86, Land Office, Annapolis.

¹⁰ Date of this marriage unknown.

John and Elizabeth Cashner to 1910, and the Satterlees and Ingalls to the present. Some especially fine work during the occupancy of the Platers has given the house a distinctive personality.

The arresting feature of Sotterley, when approached from the river side (see cover picture), is the covered colonnade along the entire front of the house, which measures nearly 100 feet. This loggia suggests the somewhat more spacious but shorter piazza on the river side of Mount Vernon.¹¹ It is paved with large rectangular flagstones. Square columns support the roof and clusters of climbing roses. It is virtually certain that the colonnade was constructed in the latter half of the 18th century, for the original structure built by Bowles consisted only of the right or northern portion—a traditional type 17th century brick building, one and a half stories high with dormer windows and tall chimneys on the gable ends.¹² This building with the library added was in the shape of a small, squat T. Other rooms, added to the south arm of the T, gave the house somewhat the shape of an L. From a distance one notices a small cupola that bears the Plater coat of arms and the date 1730.¹³ Though documentation is lacking, it seems reasonable to suppose that the cupola—at the crossing of the T—was erected by George Plater II to mark the completion of the house in that year. The coat of arms is also on the sun dial in the garden.

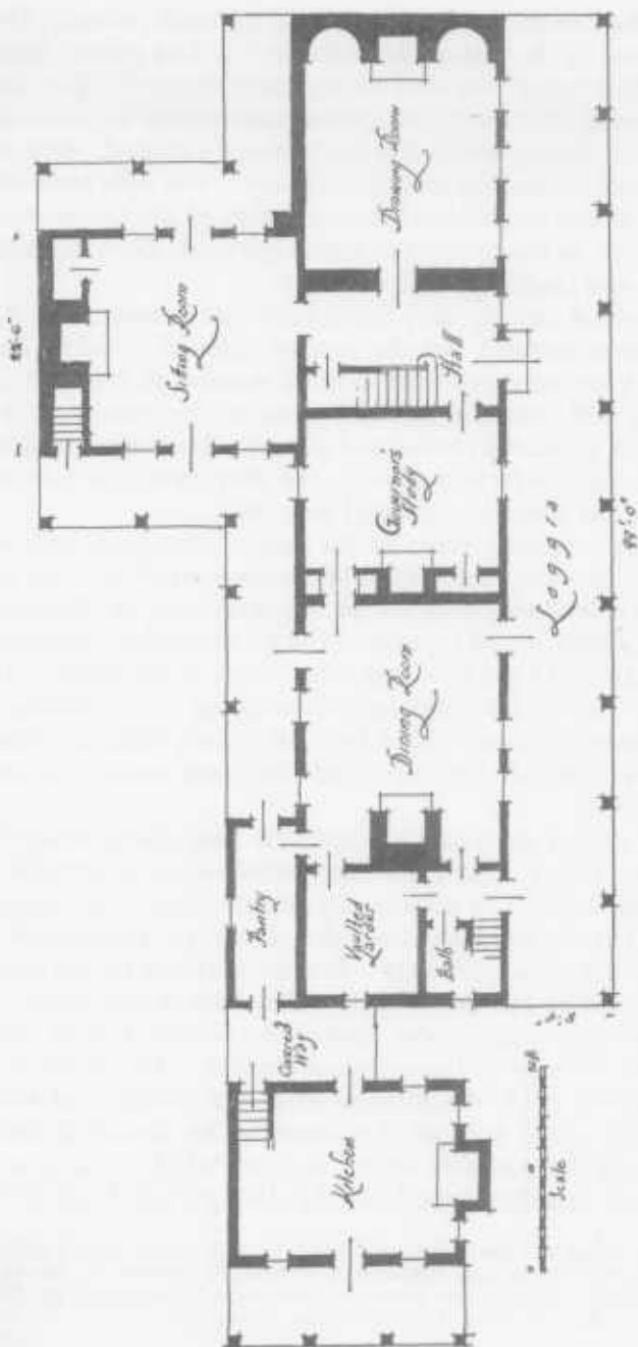
Entering the main hallway, one sees the beautifully wrought staircase, hand carved in Chinese Chippendale style. The stair rail as well as the newel post, ingeniously carved and contrived in the late 18th century, is similar to that which graced Bushwood, another St. Mary's County house (destroyed by fire in 1934), and to the railing at Bohemia in Cecil County.

To the right of the main hall is the drawing room, unchanged since the time of James Bowles. The walls are panelled in pine and painted white. The window frames are of walnut, and the heavy door is solid mahogany hung on rising hinges of brass. Opposite the door is a fine fireplace with bracketed mantel and a large overmantel panel embellished with dog eared trim and fret motif. The carved recesses on either side of the fireplace are

¹¹ Precedent for the piazza is unknown, but it is considered a complete innovation for the period. The one at Mount Vernon was not completed until 1784.

¹² The bricks used in the building were probably made from clay dug in the woods around Sotterley. Traces of several clay pits have recently been found.

¹³ See Gwillim's *Display of Heraldry*; also McHenry Howard, "Some Early Colonial Marylanders," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV (1920), 168-170.



SKETCH PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR OF SOTTERLEY, 1951

perhaps the best examples in Maryland of the shell pattern. They are reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance, the first period during which the shell motif was used to any large extent.¹⁴ The shell pattern was used all through the Queen Anne period (1710-1740) in architecture, during which this room was completed. It is the oldest and most interesting part of the house. The style embodied in the work of this room contains the warmth of the Queen Anne tradition which, in the opinion of some, has never been surpassed for richness and livability.

Colonial wood carving may have been less precise than that which has been restored, but the revived colonial building loses something by its very exactness. Most woodwork today is the product of a mill, while in colonial times all the woodwork was the product of ingenious carvers and joiners. Their work may not always have had perfection of line, but they gave it a personal touch which can never be achieved by a mill.

The library or sitting room at the rear of the main hall was what Bowles' executors referred to in the inventory¹⁵ as "the new room." It is clearly an addition to the main part of the house, affording more space, and because of the many windows and doors it has more air and light than any other room in the house. The room to the left of the main hall, now called the "Governor's study," because Governor Plater kept his library there, is almost square. It is panelled in pine painted white and contains a finely wrought mantel.

From the study a door connects with the long dining room that was added by Plater. There are many windows on either side of its lengthwise walls. The eastern side affords an excellent view of the river. The fireplace and mantel are vaguely reminiscent of the work of the Adam brothers. Several portraits of the Plater family, collected by Mr. Satterlee, line the walls of this room.

Doors from the dining room lead to the pantry, a store room, and a covered passage to the detached kitchen. Built of brick by Mr. Satterlee in 1915, the kitchen conforms in line and detail with the brick gable ends of the house. The storeroom has a vaulted ceiling and probably served in Plater's time as an armory or gun room. Another door from the dining room leads to the

¹⁴ The actual reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) was earlier than the period which is characterized by baroque ornaments with engaged columns, etc. See H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), pp. 28-29.

¹⁵ Inventories, Liber 13, 79-92, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

piazza and to a stairway that gives convenient access to the southernmost bedroom. On most of the land side of the house are stone flagged loggias.

The house assumed its present shape and appearance with the changes made by Dr. Walter H. S. Briscoe subsequent to 1826. He covered the brick building with wide clapboarding whose prominent joints were so applied as to form a smooth surface. He carried the façade up to the full two stories by raising the roof of the three bedrooms and the hall on the river side. Even so, the entire house is not of great height. By the time of these changes the house covered much ground in its irregular plan and informal composition.

Briscoe tore down the Plater kitchen, where the present dining room is, and built one at right angles to the stone flagged piazza. This necessitated closing the easterly windows of the dining room. It is said that Dr. Briscoe built the hidden passageway in the Governor's study, entered through a concealed panel in the chimney corner, winding up an inside stairway encircling the chimney and leading out to the low slanting roof above. It has been described as a quick means of escape during the Civil War. Indeed it could prove useful under many circumstances.

An old tax list accounts for five outbuildings on Sotterley in 1798.¹⁶ There is a fine old brick warehouse still standing in its original position, erected in 1757, with the date worked in brick on one end of the building. The smoke house, flanking the south side of the mansion, is also in its original place, next to the detached kitchen. It still contains an old brine trough hollowed out of a single log.

Two small buildings originally stood in the front yard or court-yard of the main house. One was used as a wine house and smoking room; the other as an office for the collection of customs duties. Dr. Briscoe moved the little customs house, where four generations of Platers had collected his Majesty's revenues for the Patuxent district, to the barnyard. It was long used as a tool shed. Mr. Satterlee also moved the wine house to the barnyard, and converted it into a granary.

The two gate houses at the entrance and the little tea house along the garden wall are typical of later 18th century building. Their hipped roofs and the curiously curved lines of the tea house

¹⁶ Tax List for St. Mary's County, 1798, Maryland Historical Society.

closely resemble their counterparts at Mount Vernon. The old spinning house, near the smoke house, will soon be returned to its original location on the lawn.

James Bowles, who began the building of Sotterley, named his wife sole executrix of the estate according to his will, probated January 3, 1727/8.¹⁷ But contrary to general belief, Rebecca Bowles did not, indeed could not, inherit her husband's estate, no less turn it over to her second husband under the laws then in effect.¹⁸ She was given a life interest in the plantation in St. Mary's County and one-fourth of his lands already parcelled to his three daughters, taken where it would not be prejudicial more to one child than another if possible. The bulk of his property was divided fairly equally among his daughters. As Jane was the eldest, she was left what was probably the most valuable piece of land and the dwelling house, after the death of her stepmother, Rebecca Bowles Plater. In a letter to the Commissary General written three years after their father's death, it was revealed that Bowles' children were still in their minority, and that the greatest part of his personal estate was in England, subject to the direction of the High Court of Chancery there.¹⁹

In an elaborate inventory, drawn up by Bowles' executors, there appears a full account of his property, both real and personal, here as well as in England. From it a rough idea of the dwelling house can be pictured. The original furnishings are enumerated in great detail as well as other personal effects. The chattel property listed indicates that Bowles was farming a large part of his acreage; he also kept a goodly herd of livestock.²⁰ According to the summary of outbuildings, smoking meat, tanning hides, grinding corn and other grains, spinning and weaving were familiar processes to this nearly self-sufficient community.

Rebecca Bowles was still quite young when her first husband died. There followed a second marriage, to George Plater II, on June 10, 1729.²¹ Plater's father had come from England around 1689. Both men held important positions in provincial government. Each was collector of customs for the Patuxent district. The

¹⁷ Will Book, Liber 19, 300-303, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Lothrop Withington, "Maryland Gleanings in England," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 181-183.

¹⁸ Land was then entailed, *i.e.*, limited to a particular heir or heirs.

¹⁹ Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 28, 474-476, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁰ See Note 15.

²¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 17, 1729, p. 3.

younger Plater was a lawyer, as was his father, and most of his legal transactions were centered in Annapolis. Five children were born of this marriage: Rebecca, who later married John Tayloe of Mt. Airy, Virginia; Anne, who died while still young; George Plater III, born in 1735, later to become a Governor of Maryland; Thomas Addison Plater; and Elizabeth.

Mrs. Plater died sometime after 1742 and before 1749. Upon her death the estate reverted to Bowles' three daughters. Meanwhile, all three girls had grown up and married into prominent Virginia families. Jane, the eldest, married Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex County and went to live at Rosegill. Eleanor became Mrs. William Gooch of Williamsburg, and Mary married William Armistead of Gloucester County. Thus by 1749 all of Bowles' daughters were married and comfortably settled in Virginia.

George Plater now had the welfare of his own rather large family to consider. They were not only motherless, but according to law they were without a home. By this time Plater had been able to accumulate a small fortune, living as he had for all those years upon his wife's estate. Although he owned lands in other parts of Maryland, he was understandably attached to this house and prosperous plantation where his children had been born.

Plater might have remained on Bowles' Preservation, for by law he had the right of "curtesie" enabling him to live out his life's span as a widower under the terms of the life estate enjoyed by his wife. As it happened, he chose to approach his three step daughters and sound them out on their attitude toward selling their inherited shares in the St. Mary's property. Fortunately for him, the three young women in Virginia were quite willing to cooperate. For £300 Eleanor relinquished her holdings, which included Belcher's Neck, Half Pone, Scotch Neck, and a tract called Grantham in Kent County.²² Mary Armistead received £210 sterling for Hector McLane's land, or Hector's, Hog Neck, and all the land on the south side of Resurrection Manor (probably parts of Fenwick manor purchased by Bowles).²³ In 1753, Jane Wormeley signed away her title to "all that tract of land, plantation, dwelling house and apurtenances whereon the said George Plater now lives in St. Mary's county . . . and all that land adjoin-

²² Provincial Court Deeds, 14 Liber E I, No. 3, 1737-1744, April 27, 1744, 521-523, Land Office, Annapolis.

²³ Provincial Court Deeds, 15 Liber E I, No. 8, 1744-1749, September 27, 1746, 233-234, Land Office, Annapolis.

ing the said Plantation commonly called Mason's as also all the land where Doctor Mackgill lately lived . . ." for £500 sterling.²⁴

Thus Plater completed a series of transactions which left him proprietor of nearly 3,000 acres of St. Mary's county alone; at the time of his death in 1755, we find him proprietor of some 5,000 acres in the county. The dwelling house begun by Bowles could now be completed and finished in the best architectural styles then current in the colonies. To crown the achievement, Plater gave the "Preservation" a new name, "Sotterley," derived from the older Sotterley in Suffolk county, England, the ancestral home of the English Playters, from whom he was descended.²⁵

A comparison of the testamentary letters filed by George Plater I in 1707 and the will of his son, probated in 1755,²⁶ presents a revelation to one even casually interested in the fluidity of American society. Through a series of fortunate circumstances and prosperous marriages, Colonel Plater had risen to be one of the foremost landholders in the colony. He was able to bestow upon his children a rich patrimony, and he established the name Plater in Maryland so firmly that it became synonymous with efficient and effective public service as well as with the landed aristocracy.

Colonel Plater has been described as one of those "uncompromising individuals, endowed with a primitive force of character that often thrives under simple social conditions." He bitterly opposed innovations of any sort. The division of All Faith Parish was decreed by an act of the Assembly in 1744, and the formation of a new parish projected under the title of St. Andrew's. Plater urged that the Chapel of Ease, built for the convenience of the family, should become the parish church. With this in view he provided for his own burial in the chapel yard, and until recent years, a brick wall indicated the enclosure in which he and his wife Rebecca lay side by side.²⁷

The Chapel of Ease, also known as the "Red Church" stood near "Sandy Bottom," on the western side of a public road leading from St. Joseph's Church to Oakville. It was known for many years as "the Four Mile Run Church." But its importance

²⁴ Provincial Court Deeds, 16 Liber E I, No. 9A, 1749-1756, November 29, 1753, 479-481, Land Office, Annapolis.

²⁵ Alfred I. Suckling, *History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk* (London, 1846-1848), I, 86 ff.

²⁶ Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 19c, 257; Will Book, Liber 29, 466 ff., Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁷ H. W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908), pp. 30-31.

dwindled away very soon after 1755, the year in which the Honorable George Plater was gathered to his fathers.

A vestry meeting was held under its roof as late as 1764, to arrange for the erection of St. Andrew's church. In 1769 a meeting was held at the new church where we find his son and heir, the future Governor George Plater III, eagerly bidding for pew number one. This he later held with Abraham Barnes. He also served as vestryman for the Church.

At the time of Plater's death in 1755, the newspaper carried the following:

Saturday last, died at his seat in St. Mary's county, aged upwards of sixty, the Honourable George Plater, Esq. . . . who was for many years one of his Lordship's Council of State, Naval officer of Patuxent and lately appointed Secretary of the Province. A gentleman eminent for every social virtue, which would render him truly valuable. He was, as Horace says, *ad unguem factus homo*. As his life was a pleasure, so was his death a Grief to everyone who knew him.²⁸

George Plater III, the Colonel's son, represented the best qualities characterizing the new generation and was the last of the three lineally successive Platers prominent in Maryland. He was graduated from William and Mary College in 1752. From 1757 onward he held a series of important offices including that of delegate to the lower house of the Assembly, 1757-1759; member of the Council, 1771-1774; Naval Officer of Patuxent district, 1767; member of the first Board of Trustees of Charlotte Hall, 1774; member of the Council of Safety for Maryland and President of the Constitutional Convention of 1788 in that state. In 1791 he was elected Governor of Maryland, the highest honor the state could confer on him.

Plater married Hannah Lee in December, 1762.²⁹ However, this marriage was of short duration for she died in September of the following year, leaving no issue.³⁰ He married secondly Elizabeth, the only child of John Rousby of Rousby Hall, Calvert county, and Anna, his wife, the daughter of Peregrine Frisby. The marriage took place in July, 1764. Six children were born to George and Elizabeth Plater before her death in November, 1789: Rebecca, who later married Philip Barton Key; George Plater IV; John Rousby Plater; Thomas; Anne, who later married Uriah Forrest; and William who probably died while still very young.

²⁸ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 22, 1755, p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1762, p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1763, p. 2.

Plater was not destined to serve a long term as Maryland's governor. Ill health handicapped him all through his administration which was cut short by his untimely death after scarcely more than a year of service. He died at Annapolis, February 10, 1792, where he had been attending to his official duties. His death ". . . left a melancholy 'CHASM IN SOCIETY.' " ³¹

Elaborate funeral services were conducted at Annapolis, with the customary pomp befitting his state. His remains were respectfully attended by the honourable members of the council, the officers of state, and a numerous company of citizens, to South River, on the way to Sotterly [sic] his seat in St. Mary's county, there to be deposited in the family vault . . .

just outside the palings of the rose garden.³² Years later, Mrs. J. H. Lilburn remembered that her grandfather, Dr. Briscoe, would not allow his children or grandchildren to play under the cherry tree near the garden because he said Governor Plater was buried there.³³

In his will, probated in 1792, we learn that Governor Plater left all his lands in other parts of the county and state to his sons, John Rousby and Thomas. To his daughters, Rebecca and Anne, he left each a thousand pounds.

His eldest son, George Plater IV, was the heir to Sotterley. He was born on September 21, 1766, and probably later attended William and Mary College as had his father before him. We find no mention of him in affairs of state except for an appointment as Naval Officer for the Patuxent district. In March, 1795, he married Cecilia Brown Bond, who must have been very beautiful for she was known as the "Rose of Sotterley." Their life was characterized, as tradition would have it, by gracious living, sporting, gaming, and lavish entertainments. During these years of the early 19th century, Sotterley saw its happiest, most carefree days. The large manor house continuously echoed the sounds of laughing voices, the footsteps of busy people, the music and gaiety of merry parties. During these years a son was born to Cecilia and George, to be the fifth in the line of a noted, respected Maryland family. In December, 1796, Cecilia Plater died. Two years

³¹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 14, 1792, p. 3.

³² J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 300. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), February 16, 1792, p. 2.

³³ M. B. Croker, *Tales and Traditions of Old St. Mary's* (Reisterstown, 1934), pp. 34 ff.

later her husband married Elizabeth Somerville, a sister of Colonel Somerville of "Mulberry Fields." A daughter, was born to them; she later married her cousin, John Rousby Plater II.

Elizabeth was the last Plater bride to be brought to Sotterley. She survived her husband, who died in 1802. By his will she was given life estate in Sotterley, along with his chariot and other effects. After her death, the house went to his son by the first marriage, along with Half Pone and the other lands purchased from Jarboe and Eleanor Reed during his lifetime. To his daughter, Anne Elizabeth Plater, he devised all remaining lands in St. Mary's County.

George Plater V was evidently not as resourceful and provident a husbandman as his father and forefathers had been. Over a period of time the estate was allowed to deteriorate and in 1820 we find him mortgaging off parts of Sotterley to John Rousby Plater, Jr., for the loan of some \$3,000.³⁴ Similar loans from Joseph Harris, Lewis Ford, and John Simms were made between 1821 and 1822, in consideration of parts of Fenwick Manor originally purchased by his great-great-grandfather.

Meanwhile, his half sister, Anne Elizabeth Rousby, had died, leaving her brother in full possession of all the lands she had inherited from her father. There being no other sisters or brothers, George Plater was in full possession of the vast estate comprising something over 5,000 acres in St. Mary's County alone. If the traditional legend is true, and it seems logical enough, we are told that Plater lost his patrimony at the gambling table to his brother-in-law, Colonel Somerville, builder of "Mulberry Fields" on the Potomac.

But whatever the reason, we find that, on July 6, 1822, in consideration of \$29,000 Plater deeded over to Colonel Somerville all that tract or parcel of land which was willed the said George Plater, by his father . . . also all that tract . . . called Half Pone . . . also all those parcels of land . . . which he inherited by the death of his sister, Anne Elizabeth Plater. . . .³⁵

Thus the estate passed from the hands of the Platers who had given it its name and from whom the mansion undoubtedly derived many of its architectural beauties. There is little trace of George Plater after the unfortunate sale of his birthright. We

³⁴ Deeds, Liber TH 29, 186, August 9, 1820, Land Office, Annapolis.

³⁵ Deeds, Liber TH 29, 335, Land Office, Annapolis.

do know that he spent some time at Charlotte Hall with Philip Briscoe, his cousin. Odd pieces of his furniture, including the ancestral tester bed, and a card table, were left there when he died. They were last known to be in the possession of a granddaughter of Philip Briscoe in St. Mary's County.³⁶

The tales concerning the last of the Sotterley Platers are far fetched and incredible, including the lurid account of the last George's death. Intoxicated and half crazed with fever from pneumonia, he is said to have dragged himself through a rainy night the long distance from Charlotte Hall back to Sotterley, in order to die under the roof of his old home. He is said to have been found dead from exhaustion and exposure, in the shelter of one of the outbuildings, just a stone's throw from the mansion. So ends the dismal tale.

John Rousby Plater, Jr., transferred the mortgage he held on Sotterley to Colonel Somerville in 1822.³⁷ In the same month, Somerville in turn sold a large part of the plantation to Thomas Barber for \$7000.³⁸ Other parcels, including parts of Fenwick Manor, were transferred at a later date.³⁹

Thomas Barber subsequently married a widow, Emeline Wellmore Dallam, who had had a daughter by her first marriage, Emeline Dallam. Colonel Barber and the Widow Dallam had another daughter, Lydia Barber. Upon the death of the Colonel in 1826, he bequeathed the plantation and all his furniture to the two girls. The property was partitioned in such a way that the eldest daughter, Emeline Dallam, received the mansion and about 425 acres. What remained of the original plantation, amounting to some 550 acres went to her half sister, Lydia Barber, who later married Colonel Billingsley. Their descendants are the Hutchins family, some of whom are still residents of St. Mary's county.

Emeline Dallam married Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe of a well known Southern Maryland family.⁴⁰ Sotterley remained in the hands of the Briscoes all through the Civil War, when that part of Southern Maryland was known as "Little Dixie." The

³⁶ Croker, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ Deeds, Liber TH 29, 342, Land Office, Annapolis.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 362.

³⁹ Deeds, Liber TH 30, 1822-1825, 338-341; Liber TH and II 31, 1825-1831, 33, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁴⁰ His father, John Hanson Briscoe of St. Mary's County, had served as a surgeon to Colonel Smallwood's troops and the Second Maryland Regulars for the greater part of the Revolutionary War.

Briscoes had a large number of children which necessitated numerous alterations and additions to the original house. Dr. Briscoe farmed Sotterley as well as Half Pone.

Schools were few and inaccessible to the residents of this part of the rural South. Therefore, Dr. Briscoe decided to establish a small school for the benefit of his own and a few neighbor's daughters. Miss Mary Blades of the Eastern Shore conducted the classes in the old mansion. The Thomas girls came from Cremona and slept in the "long room" which Briscoe built over the drawing room. Sotterley must have provided a delightful setting for outdoor classes and games in the Spring.⁴¹

When Emeline Dallam Briscoe died she named her son, David Briscoe, sole executor of the Sotterley estate. He was instructed to convert the estate into cash to be equally divided among her children.⁴² Accordingly, a public auction was held in August, 1890, at which the Rev. James Briscoe, one of her children, purchased the mansion and some four hundred acres of the original holding.⁴³

Briscoe retained Sotterley until his death in March, 1904. He left two children, James Briscoe, Jr., and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John D. Cashner. Both children were "tenants in remainder" on the property, according to the legal notices. On the 24th of April, 1905, James Briscoe and Sophia, his wife deeded all the undivided half interest in Sotterley belonging to them to Elizabeth and John Cashner who then became the sole owners of the mansion and over four hundred acres of the original tract.⁴⁴ Shortly thereafter, "Jim" Briscoe died.

The Right Reverend Henry Yates Satterlee, then Bishop of Washington, visited St. Mary's County occasionally to administer confirmation at William and Mary Church. He had an opportunity, on one of these trips, to visit Sotterley early in the 1900's and thereafter came to love the old place. He told his cousin, Herbert L. Satterlee, about it and soon thereafter, Mr. and Mrs. Satterlee paid their first visit to the Cashner-Briscoe home. They, too, fell in love with the quaint old manor house surrounded by

⁴¹ A good account of Sotterley when it was used as a girls school is found in Croker, *loc. cit.*

⁴² Will, Orphan's Court of St. Mary's County, 1887, Liber JBA, No. 1, 147-148, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁴³ Extracts of Deeds, St. Mary's County, No. 6 (1869-1893), pp. 617-618, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 8 (1903-1906), p. 131, Land Office, Annapolis.

wooded country, picturing it as an ideal summer retreat. When, in 1910, Mr. Satterlee was notified of Mr. and Mrs. Cashner's willingness to sell, he and his wife left by boat and arrived at Leonardtown early in the morning. They hired an automobile and travelled the remainder of the distance to Sotterley where arrangements were made for its purchase that same year. Satterlee became the owner of some 425 acres along with the mansion, which had, for a century belonged to the Platers, and to the Briscoes for another hundred years. Mr. Satterlee made an attempt to reconstruct the boundaries of what had originally been Resurrection Manor. Thus, at the time of his death in 1947 he left over 1,000 acres and the mansion to his children. Sotterley is now owned by his daughter, Mabel Satterlee Ingalls of New York, along with about 500 acres of farm land.

Sotterley is quite unlike any other house in Maryland. There is an unparalleled character and charm about the old house which has survived the years admirably well and today stands proudly on its hilltop, alone with its memories and traditions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Grateful acknowledgment is made to all those who contributed suggestions and information whether through conversation or correspondence. Elizabeth Fiske Clapp was instrumental in introducing me to Maryland homes in general and has been most kind, encouraging and helpful throughout these investigations. Miss Florence Kennedy put most of the materials available at the Maryland Historical Society into my hands, and during warm summer afternoons was untiring in her search for some of the choicest morsels which have augmented considerably my knowledge of early Maryland. Dr. Morris Radoff introduced me to the Hall of Records and Land Office at Annapolis and gave me unlimited assistance and advice. The late Mr. Arthur Trader of the Land Office and Mr. Roger Thomas were helpful in guiding me through intricate records. Unfortunately, many of the St. Mary's County records were destroyed by fire in 1831. Mr. John Briscoe of Leonardtown gave me some valuable data regarding Sotterley during the years in which it was owned by his family. Mr. Henry B. Beville took the photographs that are reproduced with the article. Perhaps no one knows Sotterley better than Mr. Charles Knott, its overseer for more than 40 years. He found time, among his other duties, to answer my numerous inquiries, re-explore the entire region with me and share his prodigious knowledge of the mansion and farm. Everywhere I went in Maryland, I was received cordially which is always pleasant, especially for a New Yorker.

THOMAS GERARD AND HIS SONS-IN-LAW

By EDWIN W. BEITZELL

MARYLAND historians have given scant attention to one of the most important political figures and largest landholders in the province during the period 1637-1673. He was Dr. Thomas Gerard, Gentleman, born about 1605, at New Hall, Lancashire, England, son of Sir Thomas Gerard. The Gerards were an ancient and distinguished Roman Catholic family of Lancashire. John Gerard, brother of Sir Thomas, was a Jesuit priest and was tortured in the Tower during one of the religious upheavals in England. He later founded a college at Liège. Frances, a daughter of Sir Thomas, became a nun at Gravelines in Flanders. The family history has been traced back to the time of the General Survey of the Kingdom in 1078.¹

The first of the Gerards to arrive in Maryland were Richard and his sister Anne, the widow Cox. Anne later married Thomas Greene, the second governor of Maryland. They arrived with the first colonists who came on the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. Richard returned to England in 1635 and became famous in the service of the King. Thomas Gerard, brother of Richard and Anne, arrived in Maryland in 1637 and was chosen as a burgess from St. Mary's Hundred on February 19, 1638.² In England he had married Susannah, the daughter of Abel and Judith Snow. They had five children at the time of moving to Maryland and claimed 2,000 acres of land for transporting them into the Province.³ Five more children were born to Thomas and Susannah after they were established in the Province.

¹ William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1811), VI. Horace Edwin Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies* (Washington, D. C., 1931), p. 490. Edwin W. Beitzell, "The Gerard and Cheseldine Families," MS in possession of the author, copy in Maryland Historical Society.

² *Archives of Maryland*, I, 29.

³ The children were Susannah, Justinian, Frances, Temperance, and Elizabeth. Louis Dow Sisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII (1913), 262. *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, Letter of Transmittal, xxvi.

On March 16, 1639, Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, erected St. Clement's Hundred and appointed Thomas Gerard as "Conservator of our Peace" within the Hundred.⁴ Probably the first game conservation law in the Province was contained in this curious document, which provided that severe penalties were to be assessed against "all persons whatsoever that Shall unlawfully trespass upon any our game of Deer, Turkies Herons or other wild fowl or Shall destroy them their nests or eggs, either upon our Land or waters. . . ."⁴ On November 3, 1639, the St. Clement's Manor grant was made to Gerard. This grant made him one of the largest land holders in Maryland, as has been noted by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.⁵ With subsequent additional grants of land, the Manor included the whole neck of land extending from the head of St. Clement's Bay over to the Wicomico River, totaling some 11,400 acres of land. Also included in the grant were the Heron Islands of St. Clement's, St. Katherine's and St. Cecilia's, afterwards called St. Margaret's.⁶ The grant provided for the establishment of a Court Baron and a Court Leet and the records of St. Clement's Manor are the only ones of this unusual type of court proceedings known to be in existence in Maryland.⁷

In addition to the practice of medicine in both Maryland and Virginia, Gerard was active in provincial affairs from the time of his arrival. His selection as burgess from St. Mary's in 1638 has been noted. On July 19, 1641, he was chosen burgess from St. Clement's Hundred.⁸ Sometimes between these dates he removed his residence to Longworth's Point (now known as Colton's and also Kopel's Point), a high bluff on St. Clement's Manor overlooking St. Clement's Island and commanding a sweeping and beautiful view of the Potomac River, St. Clement's Bay and the Virginia shore. Because of his duties at St. Mary's City, he retained a town house, Porke Hall, at the city.⁹ It appears likely that the manor house at Longworth Point was erected about 1644, for on November 1, 1643, Gerard made an agreement with Cornelius Canedy, a brickmaker, whereby Canedy undertook to make

⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LVII, Introduction, xlvi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LI, 506.

⁷ *Ibid.*, LIII, 627, and Introduction "Maryland Manorial Courts" by J. Hall Pleasants, lxi-lxv.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 105.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 143; XLI, 265, 533, 544.

brick for Gerard for a period of three years.¹⁰ This house was destroyed by Richard Ingle during the Ingle Rebellion.¹¹ The second house was destroyed by the British on June 13, 1781, during the Revolutionary War, and one of Gerard's descendants, Herbert Blackistone, was carried off as a prisoner of war.¹²

An incident that occurred on the morning of March 23, 1641, has been recorded in nearly every Maryland history while his many worthwhile contributions to the growth of the infant province and his achievements in many fields have been forgotten. A complaint by the Protestants against Gerard was read before the Assembly

. . . for taking away the Key of the Chappel and carrying away the Books out of the Chappel and such proceedings desired against him for it as to Justice appertaineth [.]

Mr Gerard being charged to make answer the house upon hearing of the Prosecutors and his defence found that Mr Gerard was Guilty of a misdemeanor and that he should bring the Books and Key taken away to the place where he had them and relinquish all title to them or the house and should pay for a fine 500^l [pounds] tobacco tow^{ds} the maintenance of the first minister as should arrive [.]¹³

It is generally believed that the chapel mentioned is one Gerard erected on St. Clement's Manor, although the petition of the Protestants was presented by David Wickliff of St. George's Hundred which might indicate that the chapel in question was located in St. Mary's City or St. George's Hundred. In any event, Gerard, despite his prominence in the Province, was dealt with promptly and severely for his interference with Protestant worship. Although there has been much speculation as to the reasons for Gerard's closing the Protestant Chapel, no theory has been substantiated. Thomas Gerard was a Roman Catholic, but his wife and children were Protestants. It is a matter of record that Gerard erected a chapel on St. Clement's Manor for his family, friends, and servants. John Walter Thomas has written that this chapel was located on St. Paul's Creek, a little below the present All Saints' Protestant Episcopal Church and was the third Protestant church to be erected in Maryland.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 214; XLI, 52.

¹¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars, Part II*, Johns Hopkins University Studies XXV (Baltimore, 1907), 54.

¹² *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 295.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 119.

¹⁴ *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, 1913), p. 198.

All Saints Church is located on Tomakokin Creek, now commonly called Cobrum Creek, approximately eight miles from Longworth Point, the original home of Gerard on St. Clement's Manor. The writer has been puzzled for some years as to why Gerard should have located the chapel, erected for his family, friends, and servants, eight miles from his manor house, in what was then the forest or backwoods, approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from a boat landing. A review of the early Maryland maps at the Library of Congress answered this question. The Gerard chapel was not located near the present All Saints Church nor on St. Paul's Creek, for the only St. Paul's Creek was due to a map-maker's error. St. Patrick's Creek is located about one mile from Longworth Point, the Gerard home, and this name is mentioned in the sale of 220 acres of land in 1666 by Gerard to Edward Connery.¹⁵ The earliest Maryland map that shows the creeks in question is dated 1794 and gives the name St. Paul's Creek in error for St. Patrick's Creek.¹⁶ This error was repeated on subsequent maps until 1840.¹⁷ The error was repeated again on maps dated 1841 and 1852 but was finally corrected in 1865.¹⁸ It appears correctly as St. Patrick's Creek on subsequent maps. It is apparent from this that the Gerard chapel was erected at the head of a branch of St. Patrick's Creek, in King and Queen Parish, about a mile from the Gerard home, which was convenient by land or water to the whole community living on this neck of land. On December 16, 1696, the Provincial Council ordered that

"the Vestry of King and Queen parish in St. Maries County make inquiry of Capt^t Gerard Slye [grandson of Thomas Gerard] concerning one hundred acres of land, Said to be given to the Church by Mr^r Thomas Gerrard Senr. . . ."¹⁹

Slye attempted to deny this gift but was unsuccessful. In 1750 the vestry of King and Queen Parish was authorized to sell the glebe land given by Gerard and to purchase a glebe nearer the center of the parish.²⁰ The Maryland Assembly, on June 1, 1750,

¹⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, LVII, 283.

¹⁶ Library of Congress, Maps Division, *Map of Maryland, 1794 Issued by U. S. Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *Map of Maryland 1840 by John H. Alexander*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Map of Maryland 1865 by S. J. Martenet*.

¹⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 584.

²⁰ Historical Records Survey, Works Project Administration, *Inventory of Diocese of Washington Archives. The Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1940), I, 232.

in view of a petition that "the Parish Church therein is so situated that the said Petitioners cannot, without riding a great Distance, attend the service of God there" authorized the purchase of one acre of land near *Tomachokin* Run for a *Chapel of Ease*.²¹ It is evident from this that the Gerard chapel was not located on Tomakokin Creek, the present site of All Saints Church, but was located away from the center of the parish, namely down near the tip of St. Clement's Manor and undoubtedly on St. Patrick's Creek. Also it would appear that the Gerard chapel was standing in 1750 and continued to be the Parish Church for some years. Eventually it disappeared and its location was forgotten. But history has a way of repeating itself for in 1895 an Episcopal Mission House was opened at Colton's (Longworth's) Point.²² In 1900 the parochial chapel of St. Agnes was erected near Palmer's on St. Patrick's Creek, undoubtedly near the location of the old Gerard Chapel.²³

Considerable difficulty with the Indians on St. Clement's Manor was experienced by the colonists, particularly in the stealing of cattle and corn, which caused Lord Baltimore on October 29, 1642, to grant a commission to Gerard to take whatever action (including "the killing any of them if it shalbe necessary") that might be required to put an end to the trouble.²⁴

On November 17, 1643, Lord Baltimore appointed Thomas Gerard as a member of the Provincial Council for "his diligent endeavors for the advancemt & prosperity" of the colony.²⁵ Other appointments and commissions followed, such as one to look after his Lordship's property and another to advise concerning Indian problems and the like.²⁶ Gerard continued as a member of the Council until the time of Fendall's Rebellion in 1659 and also served as a Judge of the Provincial Court during this period.

It is apparent that Gerard, as a member of Lord Baltimore's government, suffered damage at the hands of Richard Ingle during Ingle's Rebellion in the year 1644-1646 because after the difficulties he obtained through court action part of Ingle's loot in settlement of his claim. Gerard was then sued by Thomas Cornwaleys

²¹ *Archives of Maryland*, XLVI, 476-477.

²² *St. Mary's Beacon*, Leonardtown, Oct. 4, 1895.

²³ *Inventory of Diocese of Washington Archives*, op. cit., I, 233.

²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 119.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 138, 140, 145, 150, 159, 163, 293.

who claimed that he had prior right to recover from Ingle.²⁶ This dispute dragged through the courts for several years.

Thomas Gerard, as is borne out by the *Archives of Maryland* not only was active in the practice of medicine, as a member of the Council, and a judge of the Provincial Court, but he was also an able farmer, a manufacturer of liquors, particularly peach brandy, and a breeder of fine cattle. Apparently he was also an excellent sailor for many of his trips between Longworth Point and St. Mary's City were made by boat, although the type of boat is not mentioned, in the *Archives*. He might also be described as one of the first realtors in Maryland for in the proceedings of the Provincial Court one finds records of the sale or transfer of many parcels of land.²⁷ Owing to his many activities he was involved probably in more court actions than any other man of his time. Perhaps this is the reason that he provided in his will that

if itt shall hereafter happen att anytime that any ambiguity doubt question or controversie do grow or rise concerning the true meaning and intent of this my will and testament I will therefore that my executor and executrix choose each of them a judicious person and according to their verdict let the doubt and dispute be ended without comenceing a suite att law.²⁸

During the Puritan uprising (1654-1656) Gerard was appointed one of Governor Stone's captains. He took part in the battle at Herring Creek where he was captured with the rest of Stone's force. Although quarter had been promised, four of the men were executed by the Puritans and Gerard narrowly escaped with his life.²⁹ After the difficulties with the Puritans had been resolved, Gerard returned to his duties as a member of the Council under the governorship of Josias Fendall.

One of the men executed by the Puritans was William Eltonhead, a member of the Council and a close associate of Gerard. There are indications that Eltonhead married Jane, the daughter of Thomas Gerard, but conclusive evidence is so far lacking. Mrs. Jane Eltonhead, the wife of William, is a fascinating character and her life, if the whole story could be pieced together, would be a highly colorful one. Jane (née Gerard?), as it appears from the record, married first Thomas Smith (Smyth) who was cap-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, X, 218.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XLI, 143, 188; XLIX, 573-582, 586-587; LVII, Introduction xlii, xliii, 220-226, 330-333, and *passim*.

²⁸ Wills, Vol. I, f. 567, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁹ David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (1841), pp. 51-53.

tured by Governor Leonard Calvert after the reduction of Kent Island and hanged as a pirate for his part in leading the attack on the fleet of Captain Thomas Cornwaleys.³⁰ She was left a widow with two daughters, Gertrude and Jane.³¹ Soon afterwards she married Captain Philip Taylor, who was an associate of her former husband and indicted with him, but who was lucky enough to avoid hanging. Apparently he died a natural death prior to 1649 and left two children, Sarah and Thomas.³² Sometime after this, Jane married William Eltonhead of his Lordship's Council and became sister-in-law of Cuthbert Fenwick, who had valiantly fought her two previous husbands as Lieutenant of Captain Cornwaleys in the good pinace called the St. Margarett ". . . in the harbour of great wighcocomico in the Bay of Chesapeack on the tenth day of may in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred thirty and five."³³ As we know, Jane soon lost her third husband, on March 28, 1655, after the battle at Herring Creek. There seems to have been no issue from this marriage as Jane testified that William Eltonhead

left all his Lands, wth all his other goods & Chattles to her disposing, for the good of her, & her Children, & desired her to allow unto Robert ffenwick and Richard ffenwick [nephews] some part of the Lands, according to her discretion. . . .³⁴

It is interesting to note that Culthbert Fenwick's will³⁵ was witnessed by Elizabeth Gerard, a daughter of Thomas Gerard and that both the Gerard and Eltonhead families were from Lancashire. It is difficult to piece together these ancient records, particularly so in the case of Jane Eltonhead who is often confused with her sister-in-law, Jane Eltonhead Fenwick.

On October 5, 1658, Thomas Gerard was the central figure in another religious controversy for on that date the Attorney General of the Province preferred charges against Father Francis Fitzherbert, S. J., that

. . . he hath Rebelliously and mutinously sayd tht if Thomas Gerard Esq^r

³⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 16-19, 466; IV, 23, 527; LVII, Introduction xliv, 249; Emerson B. Roberts, "Captain Philip Taylor and Some of His Descendants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 282.

³¹ *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 507; LVII, 249.

³² *Ibid.*, IV, 23, 507, 527.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 23. See also *ibid.*, IV, 527; X, 496; XLI, 178, 261, 263.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XLI, 178; see also, XLIX, 206.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XLI, 263.

(of the Councell) did not come & bring his Wife & Children to his Church, he would come & force them to his Church, Contrary to a knowne Act of Assembly in this Prouince [.]³⁶

[In his testimony,] Thomas Gerard Esqr sayth uppon oath, That hauing conference wth Mr ffitzherbert as they were walking in the woods, & in his owne Orchard, Touching the bringing his children to the Roman Catholique Church, Hee gave m^r ffitzherbert reasons, why it was not safe for himselfe & this Depont, And the s^d m^r ffitzherbert told this Depon^t That hee would compell and force them & likewise he sayd, tht hee would excommunicate him, ffor hee would make him know tht hee had to doe wth the bringing up of his Children, and his Estate.³⁷

Gerard's testimony that it was not safe for him or Father Fitzherbert if the children were brought to the Catholic Church is inexplicable. Whether this religious difficulty carried any weight in Gerard's decision to break with Lord Baltimore in 1659 (Fendall's Rebellion) is problematical. The chances are that it did not because the Court adjourned before the case was completed, and it was not finally settled until 1662 when Father Fitzherbert was acquitted.³⁸

On the same day that Gerard's religious difficulties with Father Fitzherbert were aired, Richard Smith, the Attorney General also made some very serious charges against Gerard before the Council.³⁹ He was accused of violating the secrecy of the Council, of saying that Governor Fendall was a tool of the people of Anne Arundel and was not above helping himself to the Provincial revenues, that Capt. Stone, Job Chandler, and Dr. Luke Barber were secretly playing into the hands of Richard Bennett, Lord Baltimore's opponent, that the whole Council was a bunch of rogues and he would not sit with them. Finally he was accused of drunkenness. Gerard asked for and was granted time to answer the charges against him, but the Attorney General let the suit drop. This caused Gerard to write a letter of complaint to Lord Baltimore who ordered the Council to give him satisfaction.⁴⁰ It is of interest to note that in connection with the charge of drunkenness, Henry Coursey testified that

he was on board of Covills ship with Mr Gerrard that the said Gerrard had drunke something extraordinary but was not so much in drinke but he could gett out of a Carts way & further saith not [.]⁴¹

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XLI, 144.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XLI, 145.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XLI, 566.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 354.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 384.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 357.

Whether the other charges against Gerard were true or not is unknown as the Council did not pursue the matter. Probably there was a good deal of truth in the charges since they had been overheard at the home of his son-in-law, Robert Slye, at Bushwood.

In view of the long, trusted, and friendly relationship between Gerard and Lord Baltimore, extending over a period of more than 20 years, it is difficult to understand how Gerard could have thrown in with Fendall when the show-down came in 1659. Certainly he had no love for the Puritans of Anne Arundel (who sided with Fendall), after his experience at Herring Creek in 1655 when several of his close associates and friends were executed and he himself narrowly escaped the same fate. Keeping this fact in mind it is easy to understand the statements attributed to him in the charges before the Council. In the absence of any of his personal papers (which the writer is still endeavoring to locate) perhaps the best conjecture has been made by F. E. Sparks, in his book *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, wherein he states

The real causes of the disturbance that now arose [Fendall's Rebellion] are scarcely explained by Maryland historians. Governor Fendall is charged with being the chief cause of the Rebellion. It is true that Fendall tried to keep in favor with the party of resistance [the Anne Arundel Party] and that he was intimately connected with Gerard whose party was destined to triumph in 1689; but it was really the question of taxation that caused the so-called Fendall's Rebellion. It is sometimes said it was a Puritan movement, and so it was in one sense; but Gerard who seemed to be the real leader, was a Catholic who had been and was then a member of the Council. In 1647 an act was passed by the Assembly granting the Proprietor a duty of ten shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported from the province. This act, by the admission of the Proprietor, was the cause of complaints.⁴²

Actually, Lord Baltimore had written Fendall a letter concerning the possibility of an Act for a duty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported to any port in Great Britain or Ireland and of ten shillings exported to any other port.⁴³ Fendall, in order to promote the rebellion, advised the Assembly and the people that Lord Baltimore had ordered that if this Act was not passed, then he, Fendall was to put into execution the Act for Customs of 1646 (which had never been in force) for the pay-

⁴² Johns Hopkins University Studies XIV (Baltimore, 1896), 501.

⁴³ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 420.

ment of ten shillings per hogshead on all tobacco exported out of the Province. In reality also, Lord Baltimore had written Fendall to ask the Assembly to repeal the Act for Customs of 1646 and provide instead a straight duty of 2 shillings per hogshead of tobacco, which fact as Lord Baltimore later wrote, "he wickedly concealed from the people."⁴⁴ It is significant that Gerard in his petition for a pardon, after the Rebellion, used the following words "... vpon mature deliberacon [being] Sensible that through Ignorance something hath been done by him whilst this Province was without Government," which indicate that he may have been taken in by Fendall.⁴⁵ At the same time it would appear that the Assembly also was deceived because the Speaker delivered a paper to Fendall which read

Whereas the howse hath had certaine information that the Lord Proprietary hath sent to the Secretary a Warrant and demand annexed to it to repeale the Act of Ten shillings p hogshed. The Howse doe therefore desire and request the said warrant and demand be exhibited to the publick viewe of this Assembly forthwith.⁴⁶

There is no record that such a paper was produced, and since Lord Baltimore had directed the letter to Fendall, he must have concealed it.

Another event occurred in 1659 which may have influenced Gerard in his decision to break with Lord Baltimore. He had, in the right of his wife, laid claim to 1,000 acres of land (Snow Hill) which had been granted in 1640 to Abel Snow, his brother-in-law, who was now deceased. The land was repossessed by Lord Baltimore under the Act for Deserted Plantations and had been granted by him in 1652 to Richard Willan and James Lindsey. Apparently there had been litigation for sometime. Finally Philip Calvert, Secretary of the Province, appealed the case to Lord Baltimore who ruled against Gerard and in his own favor.⁴⁷ It should be remembered also that only a few years had elapsed since the time of the Ingle Rebellion and the Puritan Uprising and that the government of the Province was far from secure. Under such conditions there was a great temptation for any strong man to take the Government into his own hands rather than again risk the loss of all his possessions.

It seems fairly evident that Gerard faced such a dilemma, with

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 421.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XLI, 429.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 383.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XLI, 265, 373.

at least some fancied justification for his action. After he had reached a decision, it is evident that Gerard maneuvered to have the Assembly and the Council meet at a location where he would have a better opportunity to dominate the meetings. The ideal location was at St. Clement's Manor, which was far removed from the usual meeting place, St. Mary's City, and where Gerard would be sure of the attendance of all his friends and adherents. The first and second meetings were held at the Gerard home at Longworth Point on February 28, 1659.⁴⁸ All subsequent meetings including the final meeting were held in the home of Robert Slye (Gerard's son-in-law) at Bushwood on St. Clement's Manor.⁴⁹ During a period of two weeks a struggle went on between the upper and lower houses of the Assembly. The lower house claimed themselves to be a lawful Assembly without dependence on any power in the Province and the highest Court of Judicature. There was considerable maneuvering back and forth between the two houses. Finally Fendall on March 13, 1659, came out in the open, taking the position that the burgesses (by the intent of the King in Lord Baltimore's patent) could make and enact laws by themselves and publish them in the name of the Proprietor. He contended such laws would be in full force, provided they were agreeable to reason and not repugnant to the laws of England. The Secretary, Philip Calvert, brother of the Proprietor, of the upper house declared that it was not in the power of the burgesses by themselves without assent of the Lord Proprietary or the Governor to enact any laws. Calvert then proceeded to poll the upper house or Council. In addition to Fendall and Calvert only four members were present: Gerard and Col. Nathaniel Utie supported Fendall; Baker Brooke and John Price supported Calvert. The following day Fendall expressed himself as being willing to sit with the lower house as Governor on their terms. Calvert and Baker Brooke "departed the howse (after leave asked) and given in these words or to this effect (vizt) you may if you please, wee shall not force you to goe or stay, uttered by the Governor [.]"⁵⁰ The Rebellion was on.

The Rebellion collapsed after May, 1660, when Charles II returned to the throne of England and the Proprietor was restored to favor at the Court. Lord Baltimore, in a furious letter dated August 24, 1660, instructed his brother Philip Calvert, then

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 382.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 383-391.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 391.

Governor, to deal harshly with Gerard, Fendall, Hatch, Slye, and others who took a leading part in the revolt. They could be sentenced to death, be banished from the Province and suffer the loss of all their property.⁵¹ Gerard's manor lands and other property were seized, and he was banished. He retired temporarily to his lands near the Machodoc River in Westmoreland County, Virginia, a 3,500 acre holding, known as Gerard's Preserve.⁵² In a few months, however, he applied to the Maryland Council for a pardon which was promptly granted. He was restored to citizenship in the Province but forbidden to hold office or to have a voice in elections. His lands and other property were restored to him.⁵³ It is significant that while Fendall was required to pay a fine of 50 pounds Sterling, Gerard was required to pay 100 pounds Sterling and 5,000 pounds of tobacco, and, in addition, required to post 10,000 pounds of tobacco as collateral for his good behavior.

After the restoration of his estates Gerard returned to live in Maryland, where he continued his practice as a physician, looked after his lands, and completed more sales of property. His large family consisted of three sons and seven daughters. Perhaps this is why St. Clement's Manor was often referred to as Bedlam Neck. He had many friends on both sides of the Potomac River, and several of his daughters married Virginians. In addition to enjoying the favorite provincial drink of "burnt brandy," Gerard was not averse to cards and dice. One incident in the latter game resulted in a law suit which is recorded in the *Archives of Maryland*.⁵⁴ In 1666, after the death of his wife, Susannah, to whom he was very devoted, Gerard moved to his lands at Machodoc, in Westmoreland County, Virginia.⁵⁵ A fine old two-story brick house, set between two outside chimneys still stands there. The original widely overhung eaves of the hipped roof have been changed in recent years. The home is now owned by Mrs. Margaret A. Roberts. John Gerard, the only grandson is credited with having erected this house about 1685.⁵⁶ It was here that

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, 396.

⁵² L. D. Gardner, "The Garrett Family of Louisa County, Va.," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, XII, 13. Mrs. Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers* (Richmond, 1934), pp. 198, 324, 424, 532.

⁵³ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 406-407.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XLI, 585.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LVII, Introduction, xlvi.

⁵⁶ Virginia, *A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York, 1940), p. 557.

Thomas Gerard together with Henry Corbin, John Lee, and Isaac Allerton, "that never-to-be-forgotten quartette of Bon-Vivants," entered into a contract in 1670, later recorded, to build a "Banqueting House" at or near the head of Cherive's (now Jackson's) Creek, where their estates joined. It was agreed that each party to the contract should "yearly, according to his due course, make an honorable treatment fit to entertain the undertakers thereof."⁵⁷ Bishop Meade cited this as an example of "riotous living."⁵⁸ After settling at Machodoc, Gerard married Rose Tucker, a widow with two children: Rose who married [——] Blackistone and Sarah who married William Fitzhugh.⁵⁹ Gerard died here in 1673, but in compliance with a request contained in his will, his body was taken to Longworth Point, his old home in Maryland, and buried there in the private burial grounds by the side of his first wife, Susannah.⁶⁰ This private cemetery still existed until a few years ago when one of the late owners of the land threw the tombstones over the bank into the Potomac River and leveled the plot. Not satisfied with this act of desecration, it has been reported that a guest at the hotel there at that time was permitted to open one of the graves and remove a skull. In a terrific storm in the summer of 1933 the hotel was wrecked and much ground washed away so that now there is no evidence whatsoever of the original Gerard home or burial grounds.

Although Gerard made elaborate provisions in his will for any children that might be born of his second marriage there was no issue. The children of his marriage to Susannah Snow were as follows:⁶¹

1. Justinian, married Sarah ———, widow of Wilkes Maunders⁶²
2. Thomas, married Susannah Curtis⁶³

⁵⁷ "Extracts from County Records," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII (1901), 171-172.

⁵⁸ *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 146.

⁵⁹ "Letters of William Fitzhugh," *Virginia Magazine*, I (1894), 269. L. G. Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, IV (1896), 35, 41.

⁶⁰ Tyler, *ibid.*, 82-84.

⁶¹ Beitzell, "The Gerard and Cheseldine Families."

⁶² Tyler, *op. cit.*, 36. W. F. Cregar and Christopher Johnson, "Index to Chancery Depositions, 1668-1789," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIII (1928), 312, 319.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

3. Susannah, married (1) Robert Slye ⁶⁴
(2) John Coode ⁶⁵
4. Anne, married (1) Walter Broadhurst ⁶⁶
(2) Henry Brett ⁶⁶
(3) John Washington ⁶⁶
5. Frances, married (1) Col. Thos. Speake ⁶⁷
(2) Col. Valentine Peyton ⁶⁷
(3) Capt. John Appleton ⁶⁷
(4) Col. John Washington ⁶⁷
(5) Wm. Hardwick ⁶⁷
6. Temperance, married (1) Daniel Hutt ⁶⁸
(2) John Crabbe ⁶⁸
7. Elizabeth, married (1) Nehemiah Blackistone ⁶⁹
(2) Ralph Rymer ⁶⁹
(3) Joshua Guibert ⁶⁹
8. Jane or Janette married _____
9. John, married Elizabeth _____ ⁷⁰
10. Mary, married Kenelm Cheseldine ⁷¹

None of Gerard's three sons long survived him. John died first, prior to 1678, leaving a son John and daughter Rebecca, who married Charles Calvert (Governor of Maryland, 1720-1727) in 1722.⁷² The second John had no sons and his only child, Elizabeth, married Benedict Calvert in 1748.⁷³ Since his uncles died

⁶⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 576. "Notes and Queries," *Virginia Magazine*, III (1895), 322.

⁶⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XX, xiv; XXIII, 443.

⁶⁶ Tyler, *op. cit.*, 35, 76. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908), 226. L. G. Tyler, "The Good Name and Fame of the Washingtons," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, IV (1922-1923), 322. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *ibid.*, IX (1927-1928), 70.

⁶⁷ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "The Hardwick Family," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, III (1923), 99. "Sturman Family Notes," *ibid.*, XVII (1913), 11.

⁶⁸ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Virginia Gleanings in England," *Virginia Magazine*, XX (1912), 294.

⁶⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XXII, viii, LI, xlvi. J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 13.

⁷⁰ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Notes to Council Journals," *Virginia Magazine*, XXXIII (1925), 300.

⁷¹ Thomas Gerard in his will, probated October 19, 1673, left his daughter Mary, "White's Neck," "Mattapany," "St. Katherine's Island," "Westwood Lodge" (100 acres), and "Broad Neck." In the will of her husband, Kenelm Cheseldyne, dated December 6, 1708 (on file in the Hall of Records, Annapolis), he left the same tracts of lands to their son, Kenelm II, and daughter, Mary.

⁷² "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, V (1897), 142. Gardner, "Garrett Family," *op. cit.*, 13.

⁷³ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35-36, 80, 87. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, V (1896), 68-69.

without issue, the Gerard family name became extinct at his death. However, others of the Gerard name, probably of the same family in England, survived and it is likely that they descended from William Gerard, who obtained a grant of 125 acres of land in Westmoreland County on January 31, 1716.⁷⁴ The family name continues in England and the present holder of the title is Baron Frederick John Gerard, M. C., of Lancashire. Thomas Gerard, Jr., was given Basford Manor and Westwood Manor by his father. He sold Basford Manor to Gov. Thomas Notley in 1677 and upon his death in 1686, since he died without issue, Westwood Manor passed to his brother, Justinian. Justinian was left St. Clement's Manor (those portions not already settled on his sisters) by his father. He died without issue in 1688 and left everything to his widow, who later married Michael Curtis. They sold both Westwood and St. Clement's Manor to Charles Carroll on May 18, 1711.⁷⁵

Two of Gerard's daughters married Col. John Washington, the great grandfather of George Washington, although he had no issue by either of them.⁷⁶ The first was Anne Gerard who married him in 1669. After her death, Colonel Washington married her sister, Francis, on May 10, 1676. She survived Colonel Washington and then married for the fifth time. A great granddaughter of this fifth marriage, Anne Aylett, married in 1743 Augustine Washington, a brother of George Washington. It is interesting to note that Col. John Washington came from Lancashire, England, as did the Gerards. Possibly the families knew each other there.

Temperance Gerard married Daniel Hutt of Virginia. Hutt was originally a New England sailing master and was convicted in 1659 of illegally trading with the Indians in Maryland and his bark, the *Mayflower*, was confiscated through action of the Provincial Court. Although not an inhabitant of the Province at this time, he was present at the sessions at St. Clement's Manor and Bushwood which preceded Fendall's Rebellion. Subsequently he was master of vessels engaged in the Barbados trade and made

⁷⁴ "Notes to Council Journals," *op. cit.*, 300.

⁷⁵ D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 311, 319.

⁷⁶ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908), 226. R. M. Hughes, "Some Notes on Material Relating to William and Mary College," *ibid.*, Series 2, III (1923), 99. Tyler, "Good Name and Fame," *op. cit.*, 322.

his home in Virginia.⁷⁷ After the death of Hutt, Temperance married John Crabbe, a prosperous Virginia merchant.⁷⁸

Walter Broadhurst who was the first husband of Anne Gerard first appears in the Maryland records in 1642 and was closely associated with Thomas Gerard from this time until he moved to Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1657. He appears to have been an adherent of Capt. Edward Hill, following the Ingle Rebellion. Their son, Walter, returned to England where he married and had a family; he there died in 1707. Henry Brett the second husband of Anne, whom she married in 1665 or 1667, was a Virginian. He died prior to 1669. There was no issue. As previously mentioned Anne's third husband was Col. John Washington of Virginia.⁷⁹

The first and fifth husbands of Frances Gerard, Col. Thomas Speake and William Hardwick (Hardidge), were closely associated with Walter Broadhurst and Thomas Gerard, father of Frances. Both Speake and Hardwick are first mentioned in Maryland records in 1642⁸⁰ when they were sent with an expedition of soldiers to Kent Island. Subsequently Hardwick, Broadhurst, and Gerard testified against Richard Ingle and a warrant was issued to Hardwick to arrest Ingle for high treason. They testified to Ingle's traitorous utterances when his ship lay anchored at St. Clement's Island, just off Longworth's Point.⁸¹ Gerard was amply repaid by Ingle later when he burned Gerard's home. Undoubtedly Hardwick and Broadhurst were subjected to like treatment. It was noted that Broadhurst, like Gerard, became involved with Cornwaleys in the effort to recover property after the affairs in the Province had quieted down. After Colonel Speake's death, Frances married Col. Valentine Peyton, a Virginian, and moved there.⁸² After Colonel Peyton's death, she married Capt. John Appleton, another Virginian, who died in 1676, whereupon she married Col. John Washington. Upon the death of Colonel Washington, she married William Hardwick, who had moved

⁷⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 287, 302, 344, 410.

⁷⁸ Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Westmoreland County Records," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XV (1906), 191.

⁷⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, II, 234, 324. Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35.

⁸⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 119-122.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, II, 234, 237; IV, 231-233.

⁸² Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36.

to Nomini in Virginia in 1650. Hardwick was described by Nathaniel Pope, formerly of Maryland but then of Virginia as "a well-beloved friend."⁸³

There are indications that Janette or Jane Gerard, another daughter of Thomas Gerard, married William Eltonhead, who was shot after being captured during the Puritan uprising, although there is much confusion on this score. Some writers have indicated that she married Richard Eltonhead and others that she was the first wife of Cuthbert Fenwick, famous in early Maryland history, who subsequently married Jane Eltonhead, the sister of William Eltonhead. There were so many Janes and so many marriages that it will probably take another 300 years to completely unscramble them.

Robert Slye married Susannah Gerard who was the eldest of the Gerard girls.⁸⁴ She was given Bushwood Manor by her father at the time of her marriage. Bushwood Manor subsequently descended to her son Gerard and grandson George, who willed it to his nephew, Col. Edmund Plowden.⁸⁵ Robert Slye, although he was the son-in-law of Thomas Gerard, accepted a position on the Puritan Council and as a Commissioner of the Province in 1654-1655.⁸⁶ This action within the family gives some idea of the turmoil in the Province during this period. As previously noted the Assembly met at Slye's home preceding Fendall's Rebellion, and there is no doubt that he played an important role in this uprising also. Although Slye died considerably before the Rebellion of 1689, the family penchant for rebellion was to be carried on, this time strongly and successfully. According to Sparks' theory it was a continuation or revival of the so-called Fendall Rebellion of 1659. After the death of Robert Slye, Susannah married John Coode who organized and led the successful rebellion of 1689.⁸⁷ His chief lieutenants were two other Gerard sons-in-law, Kenelm Cheseldine and Nehemiah Blackistone. Kenelm Cheseldine married Mary, the youngest daughter of Thomas Gerard. Her dowry included St. Katherine's Island, Whites Neck, Broad Neck, Westwood Lodge (100 acres), and

⁸³ *Archives of Maryland*, X, 39, 122.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XLIX, 575.

⁸⁵ Helen W. Ridgely, "Historic Graves of Maryland" (New York, 1908), p. 30. *Archives of Maryland*, LIII, lxv.

⁸⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 315; X, 412.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, xiv; XXIII, 443.

Mattapany. The latter tract of land should not be confused with Mattapany-Sewell on the Patuxent River.⁸⁸ Nehemiah Blackistone married Elizabeth Gerard, whose dowry included St. Clement's Island, Longworth Point (the original Gerard home on St. Clement's Manor), and Dares Neck. She subsequently married Ralph Rymer and Joshua Guibert, both of Maryland.⁸⁹

The history of the Protestant Rebellion of 1689 and the activities of Coode, Cheseldine, and Blackistone are too well known to be repeated here. The details may be reviewed in the *Archives of Maryland* of this period. The success of this rebellion put an end to religious freedom in Maryland for almost eighty years. It was not until the American Revolution that Maryland again became the "Free State." Strangely enough, within a comparatively few years after the Rebellion, the Coode, Cheseldine, and Slye families were brought into the Roman Catholic Church. This was the work largely of a great missionary priest of early Maryland history, Father William Hunter of the Society of Jesus.⁹⁰ George Slye built the first Sacred Heart Church at Bushwood, which is mentioned in his will dated in 1773.⁹¹ He is buried there as are many of the Cheseldine family. Many of the Coode family also are buried in the Sacred Heart cemetery and at old St. Inigoes in the lower part of the County. Most of the Coode descendants are now living in Nashville, Tennessee. Many of the Cheseldine descendants are still living at White's Neck and in nearby Washington. This is true also of the Blackistone descendants. In recent years the beautiful old Blackistone home at River Springs has been restored and one of the family now owns Upper Brambly, which adjoins Bushwood. The original name was Bromley, named by Thomas Gerard after one of the Gerard family manors in England.

⁸⁸ See Note 71.

⁸⁹ Christopher Johnson, "Blackistone Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 57, 58, 177. See also Note 69.

⁹⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 448, 463. Ridgely, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁹¹ St. Mary's County Will Records, Court House, Leonardtown.

SILAS WARNER'S JOURNAL

By GEORGE B. SCRIVEN

WHEN Mr. and Mrs. Charles Poor of Darlington in Harford County were remodelling their place "Windfall" a few years ago, their young son Lane discovered two old account books in the attic.¹ The house where they were found was originally a Warner property along Pedler's Run on the road between Darlington and Dublin and is known locally as "the old Harry place." The two 8 inch by 13 inch paper bound books proved to be the day books of a country store for the year 1804, 1805, and 1806, and contain over three hundred pages of entries which reveal much about the way people lived in Harford County a century and a half ago. One volume has lost its title page but the other is titled *Silas Warner's Journal*.

No location for the store is indicated in the books nor has any record of it been found elsewhere. However, the names of the customers show that it must have been somewhere between Deer Creek and Broad Creek, and not many miles back from the Susquehanna River. Since there was a highway between Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1804 which went through Dublin and crossed the Susquehanna near Castleton, a location on that route seems likely.

Although the Revolution had ended British rule over twenty years before the time of this journal, and the Philadelphia mint had been coining silver and gold sparingly for fourteen years, country people seemed to prefer to hold to the old method of counting and the books were kept in British pounds, shillings, and pence. Records such as that of Noble's Mill² indicate that it was not until the War of 1812 that local businesses began to keep their accounts in dollars and cents. The city merchants seem to have changed more rapidly, as in his dealings with Baltimore wholesalers Warner bought from about half of them in dol-

¹ One volume is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Poor, the other in the possession of Mr. Samuel Mason, all of Darlington.

² Local mill records now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Mason.

lars and cents. Ninety British pence then equalled one dollar; that is, a dollar was worth seven shillings and six pence, which was written 7/6.

The store often acted as a bank where transactions were carried out on paper instead of by cash. Some customers traded in their produce for credit at retail price. A sum was sometimes credited to one man and debited from another's account. For a modest discount the store would lend as much as a hundred dollars. Those who needed long term credit were charged a small interest for it. Apparently not everyone's credit was good as on one occasion Dorothy Webster bought three pounds of sugar and a twist of tobacco and left as security "one morocco pocket book with appurtenances."

The store served as an outlet for many articles which were produced locally. Brooms were sold by Isaac Wells and Jerry Kenly, Isaac Massey sold spokes, James Bevard sold staves and Samuel McKisson sold spools. Thomas Fisher sold a hickory tree for 7/6. Vinegar was sold by Richard Ward, stockings by Samuel Rogers. Joshua Husband bought hides and sold leather. Brandy, which was the only liquor sold by the store was produced by Ruban Jones, Stephen Norton, and John and William Forsythe. Apple brandy was made by William Prigg and peach brandy by Mary Foster.

In addition to the spare time occupations just mentioned there is reference to many which must have been full time trades. William Ellett and John Robinson were coopers, Richard Diggins was a wheelwright though he also did other work, Joseph Scarborough mended chain, so he was probably a blacksmith, James Penick and Stephen Norton were shoemakers, Asaph Warner⁸ repaired watches, Sarah Warnock and Charles Bevard were weavers. The store bought assorted earthenware in dozens from James Orr, a local potter who made pots, pans, bowls, porringer, and jugs as well as chamber pots in two sizes. Joseph Wiggins must have been a cabinet maker as he got two pounds for making a walnut table. John Fisher and Samuel Webster were school masters. Ely Balderston, Asey Warner, William Albert and Joseph Roper were teamsters who did hauling from Baltimore.

⁸ A local silversmith who was uncle to A. E. Warner, the well-known Baltimore silversmith.

Shipping by water was then more common than hauling by wagon so it is surprising that Warner's freight did not come by water to Lapidum at the fall line of the Susquehanna river. However, there is no record of Warner's freight coming that way, though there are numerous mentions of hauling from town. One item shows that "town" was wherever the firm of Gerard and William Hopkins was located. Since Gerard Hopkins was the Baltimore merchant at 3 Calvert Street, who later took his young relative Johns Hopkins into business with him, the identification is complete. There are entries of supplies bought from John Robinson at 216 Market Street in Baltimore, and from Meeteer and Armstrong, Abraham White and Sons, Jeremiah Hoffman and Thornburgh Miller and Webster, all of whose addresses may be found in the Baltimore Directory for 1804. Baltimore was then a growing town of thirty thousand inhabitants. Warner also bought dry goods from John Archer's store at some location not designated. Twenty-eight pounds of freight was hauled from Baltimore to Warner's store for a little more than a shilling, while a barrel of sugar was hauled for seven shillings and a half, which was a dollar in United State money.

In Silas Warner's time a woman's labor was worth two shillings a day, while day laborer's pay for a man averaged three shillings. Mowing, hoeing corn, and making shingles sometimes brought as much as five shillings a day. Some men who were more skillful than others were paid accordingly. John Forsythe, for example, got a shilling a day more than others while making shingles. It is curious to note that although Silas Warner and many of his customers were Quakers there was no hesitation in collecting money "at meeting" or "on the way to meeting" as many such entries occur.

Typical purchases were small, such as $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of powder, 1 lb. of shot, one gun flint, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of tea, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of chocolate, or a full pound of coffee. People often bought only one pint of honey, two pounds of sugar, one handkerchief, one wine glass, or one dose of medicine. The total bought at any one time was usually recorded in shillings or even in pence. A few large purchases are shown, some amounting to as much as ten pounds at a time. When accounts ran high it was usually for clothing. However, it was common to buy at one time only the cloth, and even the thread, which was required for one garment. Cloth was some-

times sold in quarter yard lengths, while materials such as fancy velvet went in even smaller pieces. Yard goods were carried in great quantity compared to other items. Silas Warner carried a stock of 46 different kinds of cloth, ranging in price from a shilling a yard up to broadcloth at nearly two pounds a yard. In addition to yard goods and the small materials required for sewing, the items of clothing carried were combs, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, hats, shawls, stockings, shoes, and slippers.

Words sometimes change their meaning or become obsolete in a century and a half, so it is not surprising to find a few peculiar words in Warner's accounts. When William Prigg bought "a pair of one-eyed spectacles" it did not mean that he was blind in one eye or that he got a monocle. The "one-eyed" is simply a designation of the small size of the cheap magnifying lenses which he bought. Hair combs in that day were fine, half-moon, or crooked. A stick of Black Ball was not licorice as one might suppose, but was shoe blacking. The tierces which Mary Fitzgerald sold were barrels made out of hand riven staves such as a local cooper might make. A tea board was probably just a tea table. A "jackett patran" was not a pattern for a jacket but was the materials from which the jacket was made. We are on more familiar ground when we find that he sold Barlow knives.

Medicines were mentioned fairly often. A dose of salts could be bought for four pence and a dose of castor oil for eleven, while a dose of tartar which served much the same purpose came at five and a half pence. "Anti-billioux Pills" which were a compound cathartic sold at a little less than two shillings for half a box. Brimstone (which was sulphur) and Copperas (which was iron sulphate) were bought by the ounce for making tonics at home, but a nauseous combination of jallop and calomel was brought at the store by the dose. Peruvian Bark (quinine) was used for all sorts of fevers and was bought by the ounce. Alum, turpentine, chalk, and saltpetre were also kept in stock for those who needed them.

The comparatively small number of foods sold show how much was produced locally. Sugar, pork, bacon, cheese, and fat all sold for a shilling a pound, while butter and raisins were a bit higher. Beef and mutton were three and four pence a pound. A shilling would buy either a chicken or a dozen eggs, though eggs were lower in price during April. Tea which was carried in three

brands, Suchong, Young Hyson, and Imperial, ranged up to fifteen shillings for a pound. Molasses and honey were each a shilling a pint. Salt, pepper, nutmegs, ginger, cinnamon, allspice, dried peaches, and a rice were also available.

Produce traded in at the store shows that buckwheat, clover, corn, flax, oats, potatoes, rye, turnips, and wheat were grown locally. The many purchases of tobacco by the twist indicate that tobacco, which had been a major crop here fifty years before, may not have been grown locally at this time. Horses, cattle, sheep, and chickens are mentioned and also beef, mutton, butter, eggs, fat, tallow, sheepskins, and hides.

Near the end of the second volume there is a page of entries for the year 1808 which is labelled "Strangers" which seems to mean transients. It shows that one could buy a piece of pie for two pence, and a quart of milk for three. Breakfasts ranged in price upward from sixpence. "Breakfast with coffee and fry" was nine pence, and "Breakfast with short cake and fry" was a penny more. Dinners ranged in price from four pence to a shilling. Suppers, tea suppers, and meat suppers were available, the tea supper being highest in price at nine pence. A feed of corn, or of feed straw and chopped rye, was five and a half pence, and a horse could be pastured for three pence a day.

The second volume of Silas Warner's Journal had a number of spare pages at the end which were appropriated later for miscellaneous items. On January 1, 1837, William Warner used them for keeping a diary. Since it was winter he spent a lot of time "setting by the fire." He also records that he sat by the stove, sat in the house, sat in the house and read, sat in the house and wrote, and sat in the house and talked things over. However, there were times when he was up and doing. He also records that he hunted rabbits, went a-gunning, went to the fulling mill, went to Meeting on time for once, went to Darlington, went to Stafford, went to meeting at Deer Creek, went to the mill, hauled pug to William Wilson's and went to a "vandieu," (vendue or auction sale). Once he went to a meeting when E[lias] Hicks was present. Often he "hauled manore" unlike the Pennsylvania Quaker who refused to soil his ground with the filthy stuff. On January 25th he records that it was cold and cloudy, and that after night "there was a grat northern light from west to east, being very read." In January he worked in the shop and drew

the pork. In February he spent several days "treading off oats." In March he was busy felling trees, cutting and splitting cooper's stuff, pointing rails, and building both stone and rail fences. At the end of March he planted peach trees, commenced plowing, and as he began to sow clover, oats and potatoes, the entries become occasional and then cease.

In 1834 the Bank of Maryland failed, and there was rioting in the streets of Baltimore, a local reflection of a condition of over-expansion and troubled economic conditions which were soon to influence the whole nation. The effect upon a country merchant is shown in a sour note dated July 5, 1837, which is found on a page near the end of the volume. It reads as follows:

We are in a pretty Stat of affarrs—All the Banks Suspending Specie payments, when according to the Bentonian policy the united States was to be over run with gold and silver, but for sooth, the government is bankrupt, the enter prising merchant and mechanic hav failed and dismay is portrayed on the faces of thousands. We say let the united States Bank be rechartered and down with the Specie Circular.

More than three hundred and fifty names are found in Warner's Journal, most of them being names of people who had accounts with him. Negroes are mentioned but slaves are not. Black Rachael Coale had an account as did Negro Bett. Since the land records of the county show the manumission of slaves by Wilsons, Worthingtons, and others near the year 1800 it is likely that the resident population of free negroes was increasing.

The only religious grouping which is indicated is shown by the Quaker references.

Few German names are found in the accounts, though one might have expected more. Many Irish names are shown those beginning with "Mc" numbering nineteen. The majority of the names are English ones, but at least one Welshman must have been present as William Williams was credited with one and a half pence "by a miftake."

These two volumes written by a country storekeeper nearly a century and a half ago as his simple business records have preserved for us much detail of the daily lives of the people who lived in that section of Maryland so long ago.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF "PARSON" WEEMS¹

Edited by ALEXANDER M. SAUNDERS

IN an unpublished collection of letters² to Elias Hicks (1748-1830), the founder of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers, is a letter of Mason Locke ("Parson") Weems in an unknown hand³ addressed to "Dear Friend," ostensibly Hicks, requesting his aid in disposing of his books on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The letter is indisputably genuine and fills a gap in Weems' itinerary in Georgia in the latter part of March, 1822.

During the first four months of 1822 Weems was selling in South Carolina and Georgia his own works and the publications of the Philadelphia printer and bookseller, Matthew Carey (1759-1839),⁴ for whom Weems sold books for over thirty years. In a letter from Charlestown (February 19) he asks Henry C. Carey, the brother of Matthew: ". . . what think you of my spending all the summer & Fall in this country and in the western parts of S[outh] Ca[rolina] & Georgia?" He writes again from Coosa-watichie [sic], Georgia (March 11) and twice from Savannah

¹ Mason Locke Weems (1759-1825) was born at "Marshes Seat," near Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County. He was ordained in the Episcopal Church in 1784 and served in All Hallows and St. Margaret's parishes, Anne Arundel County, from that year until 1792. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 604-605; Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems, A Biographical and Critical Study* (Baltimore, 1911); and Harold Kellock, *Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree* (New York, 1928).—EDITOR.

² 218 letters by 94 correspondents, dating from 1781 to 1830, in the possession of a collateral descendant of Hicks, Mrs. LeRoy Newell of Glen Head, New York, who has given me gracious permission to reproduce this letter. Hicks' answers to the above 94 correspondents are in the unpublished collection of Hicks' letters at Swarthmore College.

³ It is unstamped and evidently a copy of the original, possibly by one of Hicks' daughters or by an amenuensis employed by Weems. The letter may have been enclosed in a blank cover-sheet which has been lost.

⁴ See Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Weems' letter in *Mason Locke Weems: His Works and Ways*, edited by E. E. F. Skeel (New York, 1929), III.

March 14, 23). On the latter date he states to Matthew: "In 3 days I go to a Court at Darien [below Savannah]—shall come back, God willing [and] go to the Sea islands among the *rich planters*, thence go up the country. . . ." Shortly after he went "up country," for he writes from Augusta on March 26. There he remained at least a fortnight, since he writes again from Savannah on April 10. The unpublished letter is as follows:

Augusta, 26 Mar. —22.

Dear Friend,⁵

Knowing that thou art a sincere Lover of Human Happiness, I feel confidence to write to thee again. Thou must know that I have long look'd on the People of this my native land as a People greatly, yea most extraordinarily favor'd of God, and now furnished with a fair opportunity to display all the Virtues and felicities that Rational Beings are capable of in a State of perfect self controul uncrush'd by Kings & uncorrupted by Hireling Priests. But great & welcome as these privileges are, they will never be profitable to their proper & glorious ends of making ourselves a Mighty People in Peace & Happiness, and of exciting others to the same, unless we *FEAR God & walk in his statutes of Justice & Mercy*; because 'tis these things alone that "*Exalt Nations*" by binding them together in the golden bonds of mutual brotherly esteem & love, thereby rendering them perfectly secure from divisions within and violence without. Being deeply sensible of this, I have for many years past—and I thank God for setting me on this work—I have for many years been endeavouring to shew our countrymen, & particularly our *young* Countrymen, the importance of the Virtues to our national Existence & Happiness, and the disgracing & damning effects of the opposite vices. And remembering too that in giving us men like Moses, Joshua &c. of old, to break the yoke of the British Pharoah & settle us in this favor'd Canaan, God was pleased to Select Men such as Geo. Washington, Ben. Franklin & Francis Marion, remarkable for the purity of their virtues. I have set forth the Biographies of these men⁶ to shew the youth of our Land the Blessings resulting from imitating their examples—and knowing too that DRUNKENNESS, GAMBLING, DUELING, &c. &c. are the Rocks that wreck & ruin thousands in the *giddy & inexperienced morning of life*. I have drawn up strong *Biographical Pictures*⁷ of the complicated Curses of giving way to such *Base & Cowardly* vices.

⁵ The use of Quaker terms, such as "thou" and "thee," is to be noted throughout the letter, although Weems is not consistent in their use.

⁶ *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1800?), *The Life of Gen. Francis Marion* (Baltimore? 1810?), *The Life of Doctor Benjamin Franklin* (Baltimore, 1815). For publication data, see Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 2-141, 391-398.

⁷ He refers to the pamphlets *God's Revenge against Gambling* (Philadelphia, 1810?), *The Drunkard's Looking Glass* (Philadelphia? 1812?), *God's Revenge*

The above publications have received the warmest commendations of the wise and religious of our Country. I am now engag'd in making an extensive circulation of them. And as I well know that you wish to be aiding and assisting to promote Wisdom and Morals, among all, but particularly among the YOUNG, I have now to beg of *you*, and none ARE BETTER QUALIFIED THAN YOU, to give me the names of some *safe & influential* Merchant in Princess Anne, Salisbury, Vienna, Cambridge, Ta[1]bot Court house, Mead of Choptank, Denton, &c. &c. &c.⁸ that you think would afford a good chance to circulate these pieces. 'Tis thro' the aid of Public Spirited Merchants that I do so much. I do it on terms *fair & of reciprocal advantage*, viz. the books are sent at my *cost & risk*—the unsold taken back—& a commission *given* of 15 per. cent. But besides the opportunity which your trade with those places affords you, you have numerous friends who also have dealings with them, hence I say, none is better qualified to give me the name of some *safe & influential* Merchant there & in any *other town* you are acquainted with. If thou wilt do this, & write me immediately, to Augusta, in Georgia, and also tell me of some good person, who will receive the boxes into some small corner in his warehouse till opportunity of a *boat offers to send them on*, thou wilt exceedingly oblige me. And if thou couldst take them, I would not only thank thee but make thee any compensation that thou shouldst think meet. In thy letter to me, to Augusta, give me *freely* thy opinion of my life of Wm Penn⁹ & point out any fault or error that I may correct it. In each box I mean to send some of his excellent Examples. Thou hast acquaintance too, perhaps, with several towns up in the Country, such as Liberty, &c. &c.

With sentiments of high esteem I remain

thine truly

M. L. Weems.¹⁰

On getting thy Letter with the names aforesaid I shall write to those Gentlemen whom it would incline the more strongly to co-operate with me if they were told that their names were given me by some respected friend, as thy self or any valuable man of thy acquaintance. Thou wilt therefore oblige by subjoining to the name this note "mentioned to thee by such or such a person []—a friend of his—or any thing in that way.

thine M L W.

Please send no name but such as is indubitably *safe*. I have lost much.

against Duelling (Georgetown, D. C., 1820). See also *God's Revenge against Murder* (Dumfries, 1807) and *God's Revenge against Adultery* (Baltimore, 1815) in Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 188-202, 234-243, 399-401.

⁸ Places on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Weems made visits to Quaker settlements in Maryland in 1798, 1813, and 1822. See his *Journal* (New York, 1832).

⁹ *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1822), which was copyrighted on January 10, 1822.

¹⁰ The reply, if any was made, has not been located.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Virginia Gazette Index. By LESTER J. CAPPON and STELLA F. DUFF. Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950. 2 vol., ix, 1, 314 pp.; and *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, 1736-1780, on microfilm, 6 reels, 35 mm. Index, \$60; microfilm, \$50; both, \$85.

American historical scholarship is heavily indebted to Dr. Cappon and his assistants for bringing to a successful conclusion this enormous work of indexing which was initiated some eight years ago under the direction of the late Hunter D. Farish. How difficult the achievement was may be imagined if one thinks only of the problem of preparing and seeing through the press 1,314 folio pages in triple column and small type! The newspapers themselves covering roughly a period of forty years are from two groups—(1) a photostatic collection of 1,510 weekly issues prepared some years ago by the Massachusetts Historical Society and (2) 193 additional issues sought out by the editors, one of which was located too late to be indexed although it is included in the film.

The editors have wisely "envisioned the *Index* to be a historical work of reference rather than an alphabetical list of names and places with some obvious subject headings thrown in for good measure." However, subjects are not absolute and limited, as are names and places, so that a certain amount of selectivity was found necessary even in a work of such ample proportions; and perhaps in this case it will turn out to be the names and places which will prove to be of most usefulness. This is not the fault of the editors but of the newspapers and ultimately of the taste of the reading public of that period.

The advertisements, which occupy more than half the journals, are necessarily of a local nature: runaway slaves, horses found, ships to depart, stallions at stud, etc. Exceptions are extremely rare. Local news is sketchy and, for the most part, trivial. News from some of the other colonies, especially from the ports, is a little better except for Maryland which hardly made the news at all. News from abroad was given in much more detail but so far as historians are concerned this is wasteful, for no one is likely to choose the *Virginia Gazette* as source material for the history of Poland or Malta. This reviewer, who has long been an advocate of preparing an index of this kind for the *Maryland Gazette*, has come to doubt after weeks of reading the *Virginia Gazette*, whether the real additions to historical knowledge would justify the enormous cost in time and money of such a project. (A comparison of one year's issues of both

journals showed a larger proportion of local news in the *Maryland Gazette* but this favorable ratio may not have been maintained for long.) The index volumes are sturdily bound and suitable for library use. It is to be regretted, however, that lithoprinting, restricting as it does the number and kinds of fonts of type, makes the index difficult to use where there are many subheadings.

While the index is, of course, the major contribution, the film itself is of great value. It was a difficult filming project because, contrary to the case of the *Maryland Gazette*, there were at times two and even three newspapers all using the same name. A list of the publishers and their dates is given in the Preface to the Index and an invaluable checklist of every issued located is given at the beginning of reel 1 of the film. It would have been better to present this list in the index volume because referring from one reel of film to another is an awkward procedure. At the Hall of Records this problem has been solved by making projection prints of the microfilm list.

Such a checklist is especially necessary in this case because of the arrangement which the editors have chosen. For the first thirty years—1736-1765—there is no problem because there was only one *Virginia Gazette*. After that period there were always at least two competitors and sometimes three. It would have simplified the cataloguing task of the librarian if one publisher's work had been filmed and then another, and so on. The student, aided by such a catalogue would have been able to find his way about without too much difficulty. For the student, however, the optimum arrangement would have been to film every issue for a given day and pass on to the next. The editors have chosen rather to film one year of one publisher, then the same year of the second and then of the third, if there is one. No justification is given for this arrangement, and none is obvious. The student's difficulties in handling this arrangement is made greater by the inadequacy of the labelling of the film boxes which give simply the first and last issues on the reel. The filming itself is far from being technically perfect, but with only one or two exceptions every page is readable.

MORRIS L. RADOFF

Hall of Records, Annapolis

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, Number 4, Part 1, The Red Books.
(Publication of The Hall of Records Commission, No. 7.) Annapolis: 1950. x, 281 pp. \$2.

Practically all of the original thirteen states along the Atlantic seaboard, have at one time or another issued publications containing the texts or abstracts of their earlier archives. The publication projects in some of these states may have been more ambitious in their conception but none have maintained the consistant high quality of scholarly editing or regularity of publication of the invaluable *Archives of Maryland* series. Recent years have witnessed, with a good degree of regularity, the equally valuable

publications of The Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland under the aegis of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist.

The latest volume in this series, the seventh, makes available in well abstracted form a rich collection of the important state papers of Maryland for the period 1773 to 1827. The collection, including Executive Correspondence, Council of Safety Minutes, Communications with Congress and other states, and correspondence of Maryland Delegates in Congress, is especially full for the years of the Revolution and through the early Federal period to 1801. Mr. Skordas, Mr. Thomas, Miss Gardner, and their collaborators have calendarized the documents in a manner to convey all the essential information and some of the flavor of the original text within the confines of the abstracts. The editors have carefully supplied identifications of names and places wherever possible and they have further enhanced the text by indicating previous publication of any of the documents. The volume is made easily usable not only by its chronological arrangement but also by the comprehensive name and place index as well as the Finding List which correlates the abstracts of the *Calendar* with the documents in the Red Book series. Scholars of American history should certainly be grateful for this and the other volumes of the series.

LEON DEVALINGER, JR.

State Archives of Delaware

Diplomacy and Indian Gifts. Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763. By WILBUR R. JACOBS. Stanford Univ. Press, 1950. 208 pp. \$5.

Professor Jacobs has chosen the fifteen years when the Indian was most important as a factor in the struggle for a continent for a detailed study of the role of "presents" in the system of alliances and understandings between the red man and the white. Perhaps "system" carries too sharp a connotation for the mercurial relations between Indian and European. Certainly "presents" cover more than ordinarily indicated by the term, which here includes virtually all forms of payment to individuals and whole tribes: gaudy finery for ceremonial wear, money subsidies to military allies, and piles of merchandise in exchange for hunting grounds. Yet to the Indian, unaccustomed to the cash nexus, these presents were a necessary lubricant to the wheels of diplomacy and spoke clearly when lips failed to convey meaning. "They were used for peace, for reward, for requests, for declaring war, as a tribute, as a mark of distinction, as a bribe, for thanks, and as a token of friendship." Both the French and the English expended huge sums on gifts in an attempt to enlist support for the contest which was to decide the possession of the great valley beyond the mountains.

The four initial chapters present a compact statement of the place of "presents" in Indian culture, compare the centralized French with the haphazard English administration of Indian relations, and finally estimate

the effect on the red man of his acceptance of rum and gimcracks as well as the useful articles such as tools, weapons, textiles and even foodstuffs.

The second division of the book is a chronological account of the years 1748-1763 with special emphasis on the Indian as a factor in deciding the success of the contestants in controlling the eastern Mississippi Valley. Both sides courted tribes on the frontier with presents and, where these failed, exerted naked force to gain their assistance. Whole tribes and confederations became pawns in a game running through a maze of schemes and counterplots, of councils and treaties, all to the accompaniment of the ubiquitous "presents."

On two questions of interpretation, the decisiveness of presents in determining native allegiance and the weight of the red man in tipping the balance of war, some differences are permitted. Admitting the importance of the Indian warrior and the influence of presents in winning his aid, the reviewer feels that the author's account implies larger claims than warranted.

Marylanders who find the action of this monograph centering around Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, will recall that the struggle with the Lord Proprietor focussed local attention on constitutional rather than military and diplomatic affairs during the whole period covered by this volume. With the failure of Governor Sharpe to find a formula of agreement between the elected assembly and the proprietary establishment the prospect of a major contribution to the larger international rivalry disappeared. In earlier years the absence of Indian troubles in Maryland may be attributed partially to the policy of purchasing Indian lands and pacifying offended natives with presents.

Detailed documentation and an index add to the usefulness of this volume. Seven illustrations and the adaptation of the John Mitchell map of 1755 reproduced inside the front and back covers enhance the physical appearance.

AUBREY C. LAND

Vanderbilt University

The Know-Nothing Party in The South. By W. DARRELL OVERDYKE.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. x, 322 pp. \$4.

The theory that Know-Nothingism represented an attempt to compose the steadily increasing sectional animosities in the 1850's by focusing national political attention on the "immigrant menace" is by no means new. However, never before has this contention been so convincingly documented.

In surveying the history of the Southern branch of the Native American party, the author is at his best in tracing the reasons for its downfall. Mr. Overdyke shows that, although the initial successes of Know-Nothingism were based upon a nationally appealing anti-foreign platform, this movement was forced to enter the slavery controversy to compete favorably

for major party status. Once infected by the slavery issue, the Native American party was doomed because of the inability of its Northern and Southern elements to agree upon a common policy in regard to the South's "peculiar institution." In addition, the work includes interesting sections on the development of politically organized anti-foreignism in this country and on the use of newspapers by Know-Nothings. One outstanding by-product of the book is the author's vivid illustration of the hurly-burly politics of the 1850's through extensive references to the contemporary campaign literature, cartoons, and songs. The volume aids immensely in tempering the charges of intolerance and exclusiveness directed against the party by revealing the serious problems posed by immigrant groups and the early discarding of secrecy in the operation of the party.

One regrets that not one paragraph of the book is devoted to the cleavage between Northern and Southern Whigs which was so important to the development and dissolution of Know-Nothingism. Except for some noticeable omissions in the index and a few undocumented quotations, the book is all but technically perfect. The over-all excellence of this work suggests that the writing of a companion survey of the Native American party in the North, or, even better, an up-to-date, comprehensive history of the party is in order.

DONALD R. MCCOY

The National Archives

Constantino Brumidi. Michelangelo of the United States Capitol. By MYRTLE CHENEY MURDOCK. Washington: Monumental Press, Inc., 1950. xvi, 111 pp. \$10.

This beautiful book with many fine reproductions in color and half tone of Brumidi's frescoes is the culmination of Dr. Murdock's interest in the artist and his work which began fourteen years ago when she first accompanied her husband, John R. Murdock, Congressman from Arizona, to Washington. Greatly impressed with the frescoes and murals of the Capitol, not only for the beauty of their execution but for their deep historical significance, she was amazed that information about them was so meagre and that still less was known about the artist who created them.

Dr. Murdock's story of her long search for more precise information about this almost forgotten man and his works is most interesting and her account of a chance meeting with a great-niece of Brumidi's American wife at his unmarked grave is quite dramatic.

Seldom is enthusiasm for a subject so completely vindicated and research so richly rewarded as in the publication of this book which tells of the middle-aged Roman artist who for political reasons sought refuge in America and in 1857 became a citizen of the United States. Brumidi so truly loved the country of his adoption that he labored for twenty-five years on his decorations for the Capitol, striving to make it increasingly beautiful and to make a permanent record of scenes of great historic

moment. His name is found on the pay rolls of the Capitol until a few months before his death in 1880. His paid vouchers which amount to slightly over \$80,700 prove the great scope of his work.

The book is well documented. Dr. Murdock's championship of Brumidi awakened new interest in the man and his art which resulted in the discovery of forgotten material and a wealth of new evidence of his ability as an artist. It is safe to predict that Brumidi's name will not be forgotten again. Soon he will receive national recognition from Congress which has voted to place an appropriate marker on his grave in Glenwood Cemetery, but his own unsurpassed frescoes will always be his true and finest memorial.

The Monumental Press has every reason to be proud of producing this distinguished and outstanding book.

EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Makers of History in Washington 1800-1950. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1950. 174 pp.

In connection with the Washington Sesquicentennial last year, an exhibition of outstanding historical portraiture was held at the National Gallery of Art. The publication *Makers of History in Washington 1800-1950*, as a catalog to the exhibit, contains portraits of the eminent persons who have had an important role in historical events in the City of Washington.

Among the 142 dignitaries represented are presidents and their wives, and architects, artists, and planners of the Federal City. Best of the earlier portraits are Gilbert Stuart's Vaughn-Sinclair type "George Washington," Mather Brown's renowned painting of "Thomas Jefferson," "Alexander Hamilton" by John Trumbull, and the "Marquis de La Fayette" painted by Samuel F. B. Morse. Other well-known examples include Thomas Sully's portrait of "Andrew Jackson," "Woodrow Wilson" by Sir William Orpen, and Douglas Chandor's likeness of "Franklin Delano Roosevelt," completed shortly before the President's death. Of special interest are the four Maryland-born representatives: Commodore Stephen Decatur, Archbishop John Carroll, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, and Shakespearean actor Edwin Booth.

Even more striking than the persons they portray, this group of paintings represents a microcosm of the history of American portraiture, with works of most well-known artists included. Although undoubtedly enriched by the experience of seeing the actual exhibition, the publication presents in an interesting manner a chronological, pictorial summary of prominent Americans who helped to plan, shape, and defend the Nation's Capital.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University

The Mariners' Museum, 1930-1950. A History and Guide. (Museum Publication No. 20.) Newport News, Va.: Mariners' Museum, 1950. 264 pp. \$4.

This is a handsome and finely illustrated volume of 264 pages, not only giving a history of the Museum, but serving as a general guide to visitors. It is to be regretted that the space limits of such a work and the enormous amount of material to be covered, precludes more than a skimming of the surface. If it should influence more of the public to visit what is the finest maritime museum in the United States, if not in the world, it will justify its publication. It is unfortunate that the museum is somewhat inaccessible by public transportation, but whatever effort is put forth in visiting it is well repaid. The museum has a remarkably fine collection of figureheads; some of them are illustrated. Perhaps the oddest of these is shown with the caption "Victorian Lady." Its most curious feature however, is not very apparent in the illustration. The lady is dressed in a costume of the 1880's and is carrying a closely rolled umbrella, probably to protect her dress from spray. The eagle from the U. S. S. *Lancaster*, also shown, is one of the most impressive figure-heads ever carved. It has the tremendous wingspread of eighteen feet, and towers high above the head of the visitor. Another of the many unique exhibits is the solid silver model of the steamboat *Commonwealth*, which not only operates and plays ten different tunes, but unlike most models produced by silversmiths, is an accurate scale model which does not offend the trained eye. The nautically minded should by all means see this book, and if possible visit the museum. Even those only mildly interested in the sea will be repaid.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART

General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot? By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xiv, 369 pp. \$4.75.

John Richard Alden has written another sound biography of a military figure in the American Revolution. Mr. Alden, whose *General Gage in America* reinterpreted the work of the first British commander in chief of the Revolution and rehabilitated Gage's reputation, has tried to do the same service for Charles Lee—Englishman, soldier of fortune, and Major General in the Continental Army. Lee, who might have been (and in his own opinion should have been) the first American commander in chief, has been generally neglected by historians. In spite of Lee's high rank and important offices in the early days of the Revolution, Mr. Alden's is the first full scale biography by a modern scholar. As such, it will prove valuable to future historians of the Revolution.

The Lee who emerges from Mr. Alden's scholarly pages is not the Lee that this reviewer previously read about in traditional histories; neither, it might be added, does Mr. Alden's Lee seem to be the man Mr. Alden would like him to be, a great but neglected figure. Lee may have had more

than his share of bad luck, but his own personality and character are far more responsible for his failures, especially in the American service, than mere bad fortune. A certain lack of consistency and power of decision recurs in Lee's character. Lee's attitude toward independence for the colonies in 1775-1776 serves as an excellent example of this failing. He wrote in favor of it, tried to influence members of Congress in favor of it, and probably ". . . contributed, no doubt in a decidedly minor degree, to the steadily rising tide at Philadelphia in favor of independence." Yet as Mr. Alden says, Lee "refers . . . to 'your' cause rather than 'our' cause, and to 'your' army rather than 'our' army." Clearly Lee, a Major General in the service of Congress, was not yet an American in feeling. In this connection it might be added that the sub-title *Traitor or Patriot* is misleading. Since Lee was a soldier of fortune who had taken no oath to the United States, he could be neither a patriot nor a traitor.

After performing valuable service in the early days of the Revolution, Lee was eventually dismissed by Congress. Against his help to Washington in 1775-1776 may be set his later jealousy of his chief, dilatoriness in carrying out orders, and finally failure to exert, at "Monmouth Fight," the leadership demanded by his tactical plan. The whole story of his career, admirably presented by a friendly critic, may be found in Mr. Alden's book, but the best efforts of the historian have not made Lee appear as a great figure of history.

The format is generally pleasing, but inclusion of the chapter titles as well as the chapter enumeration for the "Notes" would have added to the ease with which footnotes may be traced. The index is by no means so carefully done as might be desired. Marylanders will have difficulty finding the accounts of Lee's several visits to their state from the two citations under "Annapolis" and one under "Baltimore."

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Philip Mazzei. One of America's Founding Fathers. By GIOVANNI E. SCHIAVO. [Extract from author's *Four Centuries of Italian-American History.*] New York: Vigo Press, 1951. 52 [129-182] pp. \$3.

The enthusiasm some Americans show in extolling the contributions made by immigrants of certain national stocks is, generally speaking, commendable. Time enough we became aware of the value of non-English elements in our civilization. Mr. Schiavo's effort, unfortunately, adds little to our understanding of the Italian, Philip Mazzei, who spent some years in America during the Revolution. Principally at fault are the extravagant claims, the gaudy style, the failure to treat Mazzei's career in its historical setting, and the author's inability to make a convincing case to match his thesis: That Mazzei is the greatest Italian (next to Columbus) in American history and one of the "really great fathers of the American nation and of American democracy." For example, it is stated frequently that Mazzei had friends in high places, *ergo*, Mazzei was important. ("Those

Virginians . . . did not hobnob with anybody that came along" [p. 134].) The documents and other source materials are treated as isolated phenomena. The portrait we are given lacks depth and warmth and does not show us a man in the context of his time.

This reviewer regrets that these comments must, in honesty, be made. A temperately written monograph of Mazzei's career in its proper historical setting is needed. One cannot think that any lines written in a flamboyant style in 1951 serve to aid our appreciation of Italian-Americans in a nation that has produced or sheltered Mother Cabrini, Toscanini, LaGuardia, Impellitteri, D'Alesandro, Giannini, Dimaggios, and thousands of good citizens in every walk of American life.

F. S.

The Ragged Ones. By BURKE DAVIS. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1951. 336 pp. \$3.50.

This intellectual magazine and this intellectually snobbish reviewer seldom notice a historical novel. When they do, it is something special—like *The Ragged Ones*.

For one thing, this book has the advantage of dealing with one of the least hackneyed campaigns of the American Revolution, the War in the Southern Department, the duel between Cornwallis and Nathanael Greene that led to Yorktown. Mr. Davis is at his best reporting from the front. That is exactly the way he writes his battle scenes, and they are all—particularly Guilford Court House—better than well done.

In the second place *The Ragged Ones* not only began in research but ends still based upon it. Depending in part on a recently discovered British orderly book, Mr. Davis has additionally read enough first-source material to get the real feel of the campaign. His people are generally real, too. He is prone to traditionalize the cavalrymen—his "Light-Horse Harry" is a swashbuckling impostor dressed in sober, sensitive young Henry Lee's clothes—but his Greene and his Cornwallis and particularly his Morgan are as the Lord made them.

Finally, Mr. Davis is throughout his book in full control. The more research an author does the more likely it is to get the upper hand; the average historical novelist in particular drones on with exposition and detail. Mr. Davis refrains. Instead of being black (or purple) with description his pages are light with conversation, and for the most part the dialog is exceptionally good. His chief drags are his central characters, a tedious pair of adolescents, and—here his genre does trip him—ambivalence. He is thinking too much, in *The Ragged Ones*, about his lending-library audience. Or maybe not enough. Perhaps before he writes his next book he can make up his mind.

ELLEN HART SMITH

The Hatfields and the McCoys. By VIRGIL CARRINGTON JONES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. xiii, 293 pp. \$3.75.

This is a good factual account of the Hatfield-McCoy feud from its beginnings in the 1860's to the supposed flare-up in 1947. The arrangement is entirely chronological, and one sometimes loses the thread of the story in the mass of interesting detail. But a feud which has sometimes seemed to the distant public too fantastic to be real, is brought to life in this volume. Some years ago this reviewer visited in Logan, W. Va., and was made suddenly aware that her hostess was the bearer of a strangely familiar name. A man came into the room to telephone, and after an angry conversation, he ended sarcastically, "Tell him he better come and talk it over. Tell him I won't let the Hatfield boys get him." Since that day in the 1920's, the feud has never seemed distant in time or space, nor will it seem so to the reader of this carefully prepared, accurate, and interesting book.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke: A Preliminary Checklist. . . . By WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR., and FRANCIS L. BERKELEY, JR. (University of Virginia Bibliographical Series, Number Nine.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 1950. 170 pp. \$2.50.

It is always a pleasure to welcome the publication of a checklist of the correspondence of some important individual. This volume is no exception. Prior to the compilation of this union list of the papers of John Randolph of Roanoke, the location of many of them was unknown. This book, consequently, fulfills the need for such a list.

Nearly 2,800 of Randolph's papers are listed. However, none of them is given any comprehensive treatment. The compilers have kept the information about any particular item to a minimum. They have merely listed the sender of each letter, the place from which it was sent, the name of the recipient, the type of information included in the letter, and whether or not it had been previously published. The result is a handy census of all the known surviving copies of Randolph's correspondence.

This volume is a welcome addition to the source materials for the study of American history. Randolph was such an important man in the early years of the Republic that a collection of his correspondence could not be overlooked. This volume was well prepared. It is attractively bound with Randolph's coat of arms reproduced on the front cover. The index is thorough. The introductory material dealing with Randolph's life is of great value as is the general statement on the nature of the project. The compilers have also included as a frontispiece a full color reproduction of the Gilbert Stuart painting of Randolph. The University of Virginia Library is to be praised for the preparation of such a checklist. The appearance of the final calendar of Randolph's papers will be looked for eagerly.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Aaron Levy. Founder of Aaronsburg. By SIDNEY M. FISH. (Studies in American Jewish History Number 1.) New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1951. ix, 81 pp. \$1.50.

Too much cannot be written on the contributions made by various minorities to American civilization. Aaron Levy, as representative of such a group, deserves the recognition accorded him in Dr. Fish's study. The author gives an account of Levy's life, his dealings in real estate, and his interest in establishing a prosperous town. Special mention is given to his contributions to the Salem Lutheran Church. Although the progress of the town, located it seemed in an ideal situation, was not all its founder expected, still it stands today in the heart of Pennsylvania. It was there that a celebration in honor of its founder which gave rise to this study was recently held. As Dr. Fish points out, the real significance of the celebration was the manner in which Americans of today paid tribute to a Jewish pioneer. This book, without preaching, carries a message that is further enhanced by inclusion in the appendices of speeches by such notables present as Dr. Ralph Bunche and Justice Felix Frankfurter.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

Ijamsville. The Story of a Country Village of Frederick County. By CHARLES E. MOYLAN. [Frederick News], 1951. 19 pp.

Judge Moylan has not been content with pleasant hometown memories. He has written an agreeable history of Ijamsville, first published in the *Frederick News* and now as a separate pamphlet. These 19 pages are packed with names, events, and pictures. Perhaps no day was more exciting than that in 1832 when the first horse-drawn Baltimore and Ohio cars passed through Ijamsville enroute to Frederick. Of as much local interest will be the lists of postmasters and schoolteachers; accounts of business, church, and community activities; stories of baseball teams of earlier days; and several paragraphs devoted to those who have "made good." That a resident of the village may have been a collaborator and ghost writer of R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a possibility noted without comment. Judge Moylan has shown grace and sophistication in claiming no more and in accepting no less than the village deserves.

Forest Conservation in Colonial Times. By LILLIAN M. WILLSON. (Forest Products History Foundation Series. Publication No. 3.) St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1948. 32 pp. \$.50.

Most Americans have been schooled to think that conservation in this country began about 50 years ago with the well-publicized efforts of Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and a few others. Mrs. Willson demonstrates in this brief account that officials of the British Empire and of the American colonies were earnestly concerned with preserving the forests of this hemisphere. The reasons were various: Maintaining the

source of supply of masts for the Royal Navy, preserving mulberry trees which many hoped would be the source of a great silk industry, guaranteeing that enough timber should be available for firewood, establishing that rights of private property were not to be violated without penalty, and so on. Apparently no distinct Maryland sources were used. It seems odd that at least the *Archives of Maryland* was not used, or if used without finding pertinent references, the negative results were not noticed in the bibliography.

The Southern Humanities Conference and Its Constituent Societies. (Bulletin No. Two, The Southern Humanities Conference.) Compiled by J. O. BAILEY and STURGIS E. LEAVITT. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951. 68 pp. \$1.

A history of the Conference, its constitution, histories of the constituent societies, listings of meetings and officers and of associate members make up this Bulletin of the Southern Humanities Conference. In describing what the Conference is and the purposes of the member societies, the Bulletin seems likely to fulfill its purpose of publicizing and gaining support for study of the humanities in the South. It is interesting to note that Maryland participates as a southern state in three of the ten constituent organizations.

Business Executives and the Humanities. By QUENTIN O. McALLISTER. (Bulletin No. Three. The Southern Humanities Conference.) Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951. 114 pp. \$1.50.

In an effort to learn the attitudes of successful executives toward training in the humanities or liberal arts, especially English and foreign languages, Mr. McAllister wrote to more than 1,000 key figures in business and government. The answers, many of which are quoted, show a serious and, on the whole, intelligent concern about the quality and quantity of training available in the humanities. Four appendices, "Employment in Business and Industry," "Employment in Government," "Fields of Opportunity," and "A Partial List of Reporting Executives," are illuminating.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

American Painting: History and Interpretation. By VIRGIL BARKER. New York: MacMillan, 1950. xxvii, 717 pp. (Passano Fund Purchase.)

American Book-Prices Current. Index 1945-1950. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1951. lxi, 1405 pp. (Maloy Memorial Fund Purchase.)

Julian P. Boyd: A Bibliographical Record. Compiled and Offered by his Friends on the Occasion of his Tenth Anniversary as Librarian of Princeton University. Princeton Univ. Press, 1950. 62 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE MAGAZINE UNDER A NEW EDITOR

When in 1950 the editorial management of the Maryland Historical Magazine was returned to the Director of the Society, upon the resignation of Dr. Harry Ammon, the Librarian and Editor, it was with the understanding that this arrangement would only be temporary. The incoming Librarian, Mr. Fred Shelley, not only expressed interest in succeeding to the post of Editor, but from the first devoted himself wholeheartedly to the laborious duties of Associate Editor.

On the recommendation of the Director the Committee on Publications has appointed Mr. Shelley as the new Editor; he takes over with this issue. The Society is fortunate in securing the services of one well versed in this field, able in research, and experienced in the practical side of editing and publishing. Especially to be commended to our members are the industry, resourcefulness and unstinting helpfulness of the new Editor.

Mr. Shelley has finished his work for the Ph. D. degree at American University, Washington, D. C., with the exception of the final preparation of his thesis for publication. The latter, on the subject of Ebenezer Hazard, and his Journal, promises to be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of late Eighteenth Century America.

J. HALL PLEASANTS
Chairman, Committee on Publications

THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN HERALDRY

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

Centuries ago, a famous Latin poet wrote: *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis* ("The times change and we change with them"). For better or for worse, change is the natural law in the life of mortals on earth. But, in this world of human vicissitudes, there is a thing that is unchangeable; it is one's ancestral lineage, commonly called "family background." The family tree may grow and flourish like a "cedar of Lebanon" from century to century or, in some cases, it may decline and finally die; but its "background" may be traced by the genealogist. So, an individual's inherited surname may be altered by legal enactment, but

the "blood of the original stock" still will course through the veins of that person and of his lineal descendants, preserving the continuity.

In the year 1783 a case, unique so far as is known, confronted the Maryland General Assembly. Charles Carroll, alias "Barrister Carroll," a Maryland gentleman and one of the most distinguished local celebrities of his day, died at his estate, "Mount Clare," near Baltimore, on March 23, 1783, aged sixty years and one day. His wife was Margaret Tilghman (daughter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman) by whom he had two children, twins, who died in infancy. He had a sister, Mary Clare Carroll (1727-ca. 1781), whom he dearly loved, and who had married at the age of twenty years Mr. Nicholas Maccubbin (Sr.), of Maryland. Mary Clare (Carroll) Maccubbin had seven children, five sons and two daughters.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, signed his will on August 7, 1781 (less than three months before the British surrender at Yorktown, Va.), leaving his entire estate to his two oldest nephews, Nicholas Maccubbin, Jr., and James Maccubbin, upon condition that they each should take their mother's maiden surname of Carroll, "and that only"; and that they should appropriate and use the "Carroll coat of arms of the family of Carroll or O'Carroll, forever after." Other nephews were not mentioned. It is worth note that Carroll was an insistent champion of the old Law of Primogeniture (see his will in Baltimore County, Wills recorded in new liber III, folio 503 *et seq.*).

The terms of the will were accepted by the two nephews; and the Maryland General Assembly, whose business it was either to approve or to disapprove, as the circumstances of a given case justified, the right to change one's inherited surname, promptly ratified and sanctioned the terms of the will of Charles Carroll, Barrister, *in toto*, which thus included the unique disposal of a coat of arms (*Laws of Maryland*, 1783, April Session, Chapter III). It may be noted that Maryland was at this period a Sovereign State, as the Federal Union had not yet been perfected.

Whereas this transaction appears to have been without precedent in our American colonies, it was strictly legal, since the will was doubtless framed by the Barrister himself, a distinguished American-born lawyer who was familiar with English jurisprudence. "He had been taken as a child to Europe for his education. He studied at Cambridge University until he was twenty-three years of age, returned to Maryland for a period and then returned to England to read law in the Temple." (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII [1947], 32.) Charles Carroll, Barrister, finally settled in Maryland about 1755 and married Margaret Tilghman in 1763. Notwithstanding his earlier British influences and affiliations, when the American Revolution broke forth, he immediately joined the cause of the patriots in Maryland. (*Archives of Maryland*, XI, XII, *passim*.)

Unlike our British cousins, we have in these United States no heraldic institution (like the College of Arms in London) legally organized and regularly maintained, which acts under the aegis of our national government.

As it may be of interest to the general reader and, especially, to the

Carroll descendants, this writer wrote to the English Heralds' College in London for an expression of opinion as to the status abroad of a grant of coat armor by our Maryland General Assembly. There was a prompt and courteous reply from James A. Frere, Esq., which is as follows:

"Thank you for your interesting letter of the 23rd of December.

"It seems to me possible that the answer to your question may involve points which go well beyond the Herald's competence and require the opinion in addition of a lawyer versed in both English and American law, and possibly of an international lawyer into the bargain.

"In England the transference of Arms under the terms of a Will or otherwise from one family to another can only be made valid by Royal Licence or an Act of Parliament, but there is provision for the acceptance by the College of Arms, if valid, of Foreign Arms duly authorised by official Foreign Authority, and it is possible that an Act of the Maryland Legislature might qualify under this head. It is, however, news to me that Armorial Bearings have been recognised in this way by American Legislation, but I take it from what you say there can be no doubt of the point.

"Possibly the matter might be accepted if a descendant of the Carroll . . . legatee were to come forward, produce and record here evidence of his descent and offer the relative Act of the Legislature as evidence of the Arms. If this possibility were of serious interest I should be pleased to advise further on the detailed procedure and the probable cost."

Parker Genealogy Prizes—The closing date for submission of manuscripts in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies is December 31, 1951. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families.

Prizes will be as follow: First Prize, \$30; Second Prize, \$20; Third Prize, \$10.

The first prize for the best contribution in the field of Maryland genealogy entered in the 1950 contest has been awarded to Mrs. Henry (Florence C.) Montgomery of Hilton Village, Virginia, for her contribution, "Wells and Related Families That Moved from Maryland to the Ohio River Valley." The amount of the award was \$45. A check for this amount has been sent to Mrs. Montgomery.

Second prize went to Mr. Edwin W. Beitzell of Washington, D. C., for his manuscript, "The Gerard and Cheseldine Families." The amount of this prize was \$30. Third prize was awarded to Mrs. Evelyn C. Adams of Baltimore for her study, "The Troutman Families."

To the judges of this contest, Miss Elizabeth B. Showacre, Mr. Harry Wright Newman, and Mr. A. Russell Slagle, the Society extends its gratitude.

Dawson—Want information about parents of George Dawson (born in Md. in 1744) and his wife, Hannah Asbury (Asberry) (born in Md. about 1759); also when and where George and Hannah Dawson were married. They came to Ky. where youngest son, Asbury Dawson, was born 1800. Was James Asberry of Baltimore Co., census of 1790, the father of Hannah? Was George Dawson of Talbot Co. (Bay Hundred), census of 1776, the one who came to Green Co., Ky.?

Mrs. E. B. Federa,
1224 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.

Hynes—Lawrence—William Rose Hynes was born January 27, 1771, near Hancock, Washington Co., and died at Bardstown, Nelson Co., Ky., on April 10, 1837. On November 16, 1800, he married at Garrison Forest (St. Thomas' Episcopal) Church, Baltimore Co., Elizabeth Lawrence, probably of Washington Co., who was born on May 2, 1778, and died on January 15, 1814. Desire further information about Elizabeth Lawrence including names of children and dates of births.

D. H. McIntosh,
Box 163, Hampstead, Md.

Brown (Browne)—I am compiling the genealogy of the Brown (Browne) family of Talbot, Queen Anne's, and Kent Counties. Any data, particularly transcripts of family Bible records or private papers, shedding light on any of the branches of this family will be gratefully received.

Thomas DeC. Ruth,
115 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

West St. Mary's Manor—Many readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will wish to read the article entitled "Living With Antiques, The Maryland Home of Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Miodrag R. Blagojevich" that appeared in *Antiques* for April, 1951, pp. 302-305. The article is attractively illustrated with photographs by Jack Engeman and Colonel Blagojevich.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

Carrico Family—A detailed account of the Carrico family in America by Homer E. Carrico appeared in the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, 25 (July, 1951), 217-252.

BIOGRAPHY OF LUTHER MARTIN

(1) Can anyone advise me as to the maiden name of the mother of Luther Martin and his brother Lenox? Her first name is generally given as Hannah, but on what authority?

(2) Can anyone give me the full name of the husband of Maria Martin, the elder daughter of Luther Martin? His surname is sometimes given as Keene, but as no relation to Richard Reynall Keene, the husband of Maria Martin's younger sister Eleanora.

(3) What is the authority for the statement that Richard Reynall Keene and Eleanora (Martin) Keene had a son born in New York in 1802, who was living in France in 1821, and probably died without issue in 1825?

(4) Can anyone furnish me with copies, or the location of, letters to or from Luther Martin, for use in a full-length biography of the latter which I am now writing? Most of the historical societies in this country have already been contacted, but with only the most meager results. Autograph dealers, however, advise me that they have in years past handled hundreds of such letters, but that they are now ignorant of their whereabouts.

PAUL S. CLARKSON,
410 Kensington Road, Baltimore.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. PINKETT, Assistant Chief of the Agriculture Records Section in the National Archives, is an authority on agricultural history and contributes frequently to scholarly journals. ☆ A graduate student at Columbia University, Miss McKENNA is the authorized biographer of William E. Borah. Her article on Sotterley is the result of research during the past two summers for its present owner. ☆ Long interested in family history and 17th century Maryland, MR. BEITZELL has made exhaustive use of the *Archives of Maryland* and other sources in the preparation of his study of Thomas Gerard. ☆ The REV. MR. SCRIVEN, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Nativity, Cedarcroft, in Baltimore, and the author of a number of religious texts, has a special interest in the history of Harford County. ☆ Holder of a Johns Hopkins Ph. D., MR. SAUNDERS is Assistant Professor of English in the University of Oklahoma. He spent the decade 1929-1939 in Maryland and was for a year Director of the Federal Writer's Project in this State.